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ABSTRACT

This proceedings contain 16 papers on American journalism history in the 20th century. Papers in the proceedings are: "News Suppression & Press Intimidation During the Nixon Administration" (Egbe Enonnchong); "The Persian Gulf War: Revolution in News Transmission" (Robert L. Spellman); "South Dakota's W. R. Ronald: Prairie Editor and an AAA Exponent" (Elizabeth Evenson Williams); "William H. Mason: How a Journalist's Murder Influenced Media Coverage" (Mary K. Sparks); "A Paper for Those Who Toil: The Chicago Labor Press in Transition" (Jon Bekken); "A Southern Demagogue as Portrayed through Florida Newspapers" (John Galey); "Ohio Newspaper Coverage of the 1920 Presidential Campaign" (Douglass K. Daniel); "Truth and Jimmy Carter: The 1976 Presidential Campaign" (Sonya Forte Duhe); "The Carter Presidency and the National Press: Grappling with the Process of Truth" (Kyle Cole); "Ambassador of American Journalism: Alistair Cooke" (Michael D. Murray); "Photographs, Image Manipulation, and False Light Invasion of Privacy" (Steve Buhman); "'Lou Grant': Creating Characters for a Newspaper Drama" (Douglass K. Daniel); "Eisenhower, McCarthy, and News Conferences That Fought Back: A Turning Point in White House Press Relations, 1953-1954" (Craig Allen); "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability: State Press Association Ethics Codes in the 1920s" (Mary M. Cronin and James B. McPherson); "Penitents Brought into the Fold: Tales of Conversion, Heresy, and Contrition in 'Time' Magazine" (Richard Lentz); and "Was the Mainstream Press a Promoter of the Progressive Ideology? The 'New York Times' and the 'New York World', 1900-1917" (Elizabeth Burt). (RS)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1992 CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN JOURNALISM HISTORIANS ASSOCIATION

(Lawrence, Kansas, October 1-3, 1992)

Part II: Journalism History in the Twentieth Century

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"News Suppression & Press Intimidation During the Nixon Administration"

By
Egbe Enonnchong
University of Missouri-Columbia

Presented at the (Panel: First Amendment and Presidency)
American Journalism Historians Association Annual Convention
Lawrence, Kansas
September 30 through October 3, 1992

"News Suppression & Press Intimidation During the Nixon Administration"

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Abstract

During the first two years of Richard Nixon's tenure in the White House (1969-71), the animosity between the press and the president had never been so intense. Members of the Nixon administration often blamed the negative coverage the president got from the media on the adversarial relations between the executive branch and the press. Never had an administration been so determined to conceal information from the press as the Nixon era has come to be remembered for. And never, too, had reporters been so relentless in their efforts to go after information reserved strictly to members of the president's "inner circle." The administration issued threats and pursued court litigations in its scheme to scare reporters from getting access to information the president wished to conceal from the media. Call this censorship; that was precisely what many in the media thought the administration was doing. By blurring the boundary between prior restraint and seditious libel, The administration, in subtle ways, blended the two concepts as a means of punishing the media.

It is true that of all the Presidents in this century, it is probably true, that I have less, as somebody has said, supporters in the press than any President.--Richard Nixon[1]

Introduction

The focus of this analysis will be to examine how Richard M. Nixon obscurely blended **seditious libel** with **prior restraint** in his effort to limit media access to information as a form of punishment. The time period is from 1969 through 1971, Mr. Nixon's first two years in office and before the 1972 Watergate breakin. If this sounds like a blueprint to undermine the First Amendment, Nixon's action coursed many to think so.

Nixon's return to national politics in 1968 surprised many who had written his political orbitary following his defeat in the 1962 race for governor in California. His defiant statement to reporters then: "'You won't have Dick Nixon to kick around any more,' only confirmed 'his masochism and paranoia toward the press in blaming it for his defeat,"[2] according to media scholars John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts.

Nixon's obsession with keeping information out of reach from journalists stemmed from a long standing distrust the president had developed over the years toward the media. Long before he was elected president, Nixon had been involved in several confrontations with the press which brought his image and reputation into question. The 1962 California gubernatorial race, for example, marked the climax of Nixon's frustrations with the press prior to his election as president in 1968.[3]

Background

When Nixon resurfaced on the national political stage as president-elect in 1968, it could have been easily predicted that his feud with the press would be resurrected because of his protracted problems with the news media. After all, the president and "certain elements of the press have been adversaries ... dating back to the time when Mr. Nixon as a young Congressman, helped exposed Alger Hiss Communist case in 1948."[4] Several years earlier, "newsmen had named him 'Tricky Dick' and to them he attributed part of the blame for his 1960 defeat."[5] Nixon's personal style and inability to relax in front of the media made the resumption of hostilities between himself and the press inevitable. Nixon was somehow naive when it came to dealing with the media, an aspect of his personality that constantly put him on a collision course with reporters. One reporter remarked that "the real tragedy of Richard Nixon is that he has regularly demonstrated an ability to cut his own political throat, and to do it with a deftness that newsmen and civil servants have come to admire."[6]

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[1] *The New Republic* "Poor Richard's Bad Press," Vol165, No. 23, December 4, 1971.

[2] John Tebbel & Sarah Miles Watts The Press and the Presidency (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 501.

[3] *U.S. News & World Report*, "Will the Press Be Out To Get Nixon," December 2, 1968, p. 40.

Nixon returned to the national scene in 1968, obviously with a personal pledge not to be victimized again by the press. As the president-elect, Mr. Nixon unfortunately began his *tour de service* in the White House by setting the stage for confrontation with the media by December 1968. In describing White House press relations to members of his cabinet and their wives, barely one month after he had been elected president, Nixon seemed to be sounding the battle cry:

> Always remember, the men and women of the news media approach this [interaction with the White House] as an adversarial relationship. The time will come when they will run lies about you, when the columnists and editorial writers will make you seem to be scoundrels or fools, or both and the cartoonists will depict you as ogres. Some of your wives will get up in the morning and look at the papers and start to cry. Now don't let this get you down -- don't let it defeat you. And don't try to adjust your actions to do what you think would please them.[7]

The preceding statement by Mr. Nixon seemed to have defined, in clear terms, the rift between his

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[4] Ibid., *U.S. News and World Report*, 1968, p. 39.

[5] *Congressional Quarterly*, "Nixon Administration and the News Media," January 1, 1972, p.4.

[6] *The New Leader*, "Nixon, the Press and Vietnam," January 24, 1972, p. 5.

[7] *New York Magazine*, "How Nixon Outwits the Press," Vol. 5, October 9, 1972, p. 54.

administration and the media. The media, on their part, also, seemed prepared to take on the Nixon administration as indicated in a released statement by a segment of the Washington Press Corps in which it proclaimed open hostilities on the White House and "accusing the president of having achieved the most closed administration in recent decades."[8]

By demonstrating a pre-inauguration paranoia, Richard Nixon was not only hinting at a confrontation with the press, but he was also implying some degree of censorship would be directed against those journalists who dared to attack a president who never had good things to say about the press.

First Amendment Theoretical Background

The press' abhorrence to any form or appearance of censorship is rooted in its strick interpretation of the First Amendment provision which states that **"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of the press...."** This preceding phrase is the rallying cry of all journalists whenever they are denied access to information, restrained from publishing information they already have, or demanded to name their sources. During the Nixon presidency, this constitutional provision, which has been, and remains the cornerstone of American journalism, underwent severe scrutiny. Why would there be so much outrage from journalists whenever they perceive a threat on the First Amendment?

The significance of the First Amendment is not just limited to preserving the free practice of journalism; it is the heart and soul of the American democratic system of government which has four distinct institutions, namely: the executive, legislative, judiciary, and the press. Needless to say that the First Amendment provision facilitates and assures the functioning of this system, which many have argued would not have survived two hundred years without free expression. The institutional checks and balances that thrive under the American system of government are made possible by the First Amendment.

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[8] *Congressional Quarterly*, "Newsmen's Group Condemns Nixon's Press Relations," June 16, 1973, p. 1527.

Given the historical impact of English common law on journalism, particularly in reference to its sedition laws, the reverence attached to the First Amendment by reporters today is understandable. Yet, English common law did not provide adequate protection to the press to enable it to criticize government or its agents. The libertarian leeway provided by the amendment, on the other hand, grants the press a **watchdog** role, which assumes journalists would maintain some kind of checks and balances within the political system with minimum risk of committing seditious libel. The evolution from English common law to American libertarian doctrines on press freedom was slow. Even the euphoria of the celebrated Zenger case in 1735, which established a *de facto* jury, the precedent of truth as a defense in seditious libel cases did not produce a "broad concept of freedom of expression, non that rejected the suppressive idea of the common law that government, religion, or morality can be criminally attacked just by bad opinions,"[9] according to First Amendment scholar Leonard Levy.

Levy wrote that perhaps the significance of the Zenger decision rested in the fact that for the first time in colonial America, a jury had established that: **"truth could not be a libel; truth fixed the bounds of the right to speak, write, and publish opinion on the conduct of men in power."**[10] This obviously was a revolutionary breakthrough in libel law. The Zenger precedent marked a *de facto* departure from rejecting to accepting truth in defense of seditious libel. In order for the press to continue to perform its watchdog function, the framers of the Constitution established that freedom of the press meant "a right to engage in rasping, corrosive, and offensive discussions on all topics of public interest."[11] After approving a Constitution, a free press was necessary to make the system of government workable. According to Levy, the Founding Fathers perceived a free press in the American context to represent an "extraconstitutional fourth branch that functioned as a part of the intricate system of checks and balances that exposed public mismanagement and kept power fragmented, manageable and accountable."[12]

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[9] Leonard W. Levy Emergence of a Free Press (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 119).

[10] Ibid., Levy, p. 129.

[11] Ibid., Levy, p. 272.

The First Amendment, therefore, serves two important purposes. Firstly, it allows journalists and, in general, anyone to express his or her views toward enhancing checks and balances within the American political system. Secondly, it minimized the unscrupulous threat of seditious libel.

Seditious libel

The origins of seditious libel can be traced to sixteenth and seventeenth century England, where printers received all sorts of despicable punishments for published criticisms of the monarchy or its agents. It was not unusual in England, then, for a printer to be sentenced to death for committing this offense. Seditious libel, in general, falls within the parameters of "defaming or contemning or ridiculing the government: its form, Constitution, officers, laws, conduct or policies, to the jeopardy of public peace."[13] What made sedition under English common law such a frightening offense to commit was the fact that defendants in seditious libel cases could not use truth as a defense. On the contrary, if it were established that the offending words against the government were true, it was held this fact "only aggravated the offense, for it was more likely than falsehood to cause the target to seek violent revenge and breach the community's peace."[14]

In the U.S. the first sedition laws that were passed in Congress between 1798 and 1800 were referred to as the Alien and Sedition Acts. These Acts were passed following a protracted debates between Federalist and anti-Federalists in Congress over the Anglo-French conflict. The Federalists supported France while the anti-Federalists backed England. The U.S. was almost dragged into this conflict because of the passionate nature of the debate in Congress. Finally, the Federalist majority in Congress passed the first Act in 1798, and it was perceived as a serious threat to the First Amendment, which was approved by Congress seven years earlier.[15] Like sedition laws in 16th and 17th century England, the 1798 and 1800 Acts, it was claimed, were intended to limit or prevent any jeopardy to national security by individuals and groups. Although it could be argued that English sedition laws were specifically meant to protect the interests of the monarchy, sedition laws, in general are meant to stifle public debate. The reason for the sedition acts The underlying logic behind the 1798 Act was the perceived fear that national security was at risk. During times of crisis, sedition laws help to limit public criticisms of government and its agents with an intention to stifle open debate.

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[12] Ibid., Levy, Emergence of a Free Press, p. 273.
[13] Ibid., Levy, p. 8.
[14] Harold L. Nelson, Dwight L Teeter, & Don R. Le Duc Law of Mass Communication: Freedom and Control of the Print and Broadcast Media (Westbury: The Foundation Press, Inc. 1989), p. 25).

Although the Sedition Act had been amended a number of times, today's definition of seditious libel has not changed very much from the English common law view and still remains in the books even though "the crime has been restricted by Court rulings,"[16] according to media law scholars Harold Nelson and Dwight Teeter. In spite of Court restrictions on seditious libel in the twentieth century, it has become the major way by which the government attempts to put a damper on or censor news gathering.[17] It should be noted that seditious libel laws have had a tacit effect on aggressive journalism. They serve as agents of prior restraint toward reporters who may not have the courage to face the wrath of committing this crime. In this light, sedition laws operate like prior restraint itself with a potential "**chilling effect**" on news gathering. Any action by the government that threatens free gathering and dissemination of information amounts to censorship.

The Nixon administration, for example, frequently issued threats, such as the highly visible move which took The New York Times and the Washington Post to court as a means of restraining them from continued publishing of documents on the Vietnam War, the Pentagon Papers case. It was not unusual for the Nixon administration to attack newspaper editors or order the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to carry out secret inquiries on journalists and members of his administration who have been suspected of providing leaks to the press. In one instance, the president was so furious about a New York Times article that exposed the secret B-52 bombing of Cambodian targets that he ordered an FBI investigation of the leak and administration officials pledged to "**destroy** whoever did this, if we can find him, no matter where he is."[18]

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[15] Ibid., Nelson et al, p. 27.

[16] Ibid., Nelson et al, Law of Mass Communication, p. 22.

[17] Ibid., Nelson, et al, p. 29.

The expressed desire to punish whoever leaked the information concerning bombing raids over Cambodia obviously might have "**chilled**" future attempts to get news which the administration did not want published. There is no question that without people in the Nixon administration who were willing to break the "code of silence," information about what was going on in the White House would have been very hard to acquire. By threatening journalists and members of his own administration, Richard Nixon unquestionably created a "**chilling effect**" on news gathering. The risk of any White House staffer being identified as the source of a leak was real and potent.

Prior restraint

The concept of prior restraint, like seditious libel, owes its origins to English common law. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, English printers were required to get licenses from the government before they could engage in printing. This was to ensure that the licensee abided by the rules. In short, this was a mechanism to control information and who got access to it.

In modern times, prior restraint manifests itself both explicitly, situations were the government goes to court to seek a temporary injunction against publication, and tacitly, where agents of the government may resort to threatening tactics to influence non-publication, without necessarily going to court. It is the latter strategy that the Nixon administration used the most. Even though the government did not always get its way when it asked for an injunction from the court, such legal wrangling did have disturbing ramifications for the media.[19]

Although the injunction imposed on The New York Times was latter dismissed by U.S.

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[18] Joseph C. Spear Presidents and the Press: The Nixon Legacy (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1984), p. 45.

[19] *Congressional Quarterly*, "Nixon Administration and the News Media," January 1, 1972, p. 5.

Supreme Court following the Times v. U.S. (1971) decision, the restraining order remained in effect for at least two weeks. Furthermore, the lifting of the injunction did not entirely eliminate its **chilling effect** because "a grand jury continued late in 1971 to investigate the reporter who wrote the first article from the [Pentagon Papers] materials."[20]

The concept of prior restraint has seen substantial expansion by government to ensure its protection, particularly, in areas where "...courts can issue injunctions against speaking, publishing, or distributing words or symbols...."[21] The U.S. Supreme Court in some of its decisions recognized the predicament journalists face in their daily responsibilities of gathering and disseminating information. Because prior restraint has the potential of stifling debate in the media, Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes wrote for the majority decision in Near v. Minnesota (1931) that "**it is the chief purpose of the [First Amendment] guarantee to prevent previous restraint on publications.**"[22] Over the years, this perspective has led to the establishment of precedents that countervail government attempts to unjustly restrain the media. In Nebraska Press Association v. Stuart (1976), for example, the Court was of the view that "if it can be said that criminal or civil sanctions after publication 'chills' speech, **prior restraint `freezes' it**...."[23] But perhaps the biggest move to challenge prior restraint occurred in the New York Times Co. v. the U.S. and Washington Post v. the U.S. (1971). The two papers sought redress in the U.S. Supreme Court for the lifting of a temporary injunction order by a U.S. District judge against further publication of excerpts from the Pentagon Papers. In landmark decision, the Court lifted the injunction citing Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sulivan (1963) that: "Any system of prior restraints of expression comes to this Court bearing a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity."[24]

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[20] Ibid., *Congressional Quarterly*, January 1, 1972, p. 6.

[21] Ibid., Nelson et al, Law of Mass Communication, p. 40.

[22] Ibid., Nelson et al, p. 39.

[23] Ibid., Nelson et al.

[24] Ibid. Nelson et al, p. 44.

Despite the determination of presidents sometimes to look for reasons to justify prior restraint, the Court had shown significant sympathy to the media. Over the years, the U.S. Supreme Court has made it difficult for the government to impose prior restraint on news organizations. The Pentagon Papers case, for example, represented a crucial turning point of the Nixon administration's effort toward censorship, and the media's first major effort to resist overt attempts to limit their watchdog function. As has been alluded to earlier, the Court lifted the injunction against the Times and The Washington Post because the administration was unable to convince it that further publication of the documents would jeopardize national security the government had claimed.

Foundations of Nixon's contempt for the press

To understand the philosophical foundation of President Nixon's feud with the press, one must understand his history. At age sixteen, young Nixon wrote a prize-winning speech in which he spelled out his views on the First Amendment. He argued in the speech that there were people who were using the First Amendment to subvert the Constitution of the United States. He went on to state that "there were those who, under the pretense of freedom of the press, have incited riots, assailed our patriotism and denounced the Constitution itself."[25] One can draw an inference that young Nixon's position in this speech went contrary to the spirit of the First Amendment. The speech clearly suggested that free speech was the expressed right of patriotic Americans only. Nixon's comments at the height of a nationwide dissent campaign against the war in Vietnam typify his defiance toward free speech. He was caught off guard referring to campus dissenters as "...these bums, you know blowing up the campuses.[26]

Over the years, Nixon had constructed his philosophy of the press around the premise that "there is nothing sacrosanct about the First Amendment."[27] According to Joseph Spear, Nixon was a kind of patriot who believed the rights of a free press should never outweigh American patriotism. Or, to say it another way, the right to free expression should never be granted to unpatriotic Americans. As a member of the 80th Congress in 1946, he was appointed to the House Un-American Committee (HUAC), "whose function was to ferret subversives from American government and society."[28] The committee investigated "Alger Hiss, a well-known intellectual and important State Department official accused of being a member of an underground communist group."[29] The investigation provided him an opportunity to 'silence' a dissenting and unpatriotic individual. It was on this committee that Nixon gained national prominence. But Mr. Nixon later wrote in his autobiography about his accomplishment in the investigation and the price he had to pay as a result:

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[25] Ibid., Spear, The Nixon Legacy, p. 45.

[26] Rowland Evans and Robert Novak Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power (New York: Vintage Books, 1971), p. 275.

[27] Ibid., Spear, The Nixon Legacy, p. 46.

> But in politics, victory is never total. The Hiss case brought me National fame. But it also left a residue of hatred and hostility toward me -- not only among the Communists but also among **substantial segments of the Press** and the intellectual community.[30]

Some Americans no doubt felt that by asking the defendants tough questions in such a public forum, Mr. Nixon had used the investigation as a platform to demonstrate his patriotism and to promote his political ambitions. Nixon's success during Hiss' interrogation could also be attributed to the fact that anti-communist hysteria in the U.S. was at an all-time high and this mood was reflected in the headlines about "...the **California patriot on the trail of conspiracy** [which] made Nixon a national figure."[31] Even though some journalists found Nixon to be a valuable source for information throughout the hearings, many of them did not like the way he approached the Hiss case. In the aftermath of the investigation, Nixon became extremely frustrated and disappointed with the way he was portrayed in the media. He characterized the media reports on him as mean spirited, "unprincipled and a vicious smear campaign."[32] Mr. Nixon thought some of the accusations levelled against him in the media were extremely difficult to counteract. There was no doubt by now that Nixon had declared the media his nemeses.

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[28] Ibid., Spear, The Nixon Legacy.

[29] Ibid., p.47.

[30] Richard Nixon The Six Crises (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1962), p. 69.

[31] Ibid.

Throughout his political career, Nixon's negative experiences with the media only reinforced his belief that "reporters are liberal, favor leftist causes, and dislike Richard Nixon."[33] So, as Commander-In-Chief, he was not going to let reporters 'kick' him around anymore. According to Tebbel and Watts, it was obvious at the start of Nixon's stewardship in the White House that the president-elect was going to tough it out with the media knowing that "a large portion of the public continue to believe ... that Nixon was victimized by a hostile, eastern establishment press, full of liberals and quite possibly dictated to by the Kremlin."[34]

Nixon came to the White House determined and armed with "numerous protective devices to conceal what he and his closest associates were doing...."[35] According to Tebbel and Watts, Nixon had constructed a cynical image of the press that viewed journalists as a conduit of leftist propaganda, and thus must be either restrained or taken to task all the time.[36]

Armed with these conservative views about the 'liberal mass media,' Nixon was ready to exalt his presidency to "an imperialistic eminence not previously envisioned by anyone. It was to be in the end, a concentration of power in the executive branch that would make Congress and even the courts subservient."[37] Nixon was reputed for not forgiving his lifelong political enemies, and he considered the press as such. After all Mr. Nixon knows well the dangers of close association with the media. In his autobiography, Richard Nixon argues that "it is always that dangerous [for public figures] to become ... close to reporters, especially if you forget it is a marriage of convenience and decided it is true love. If the information flowing ever dries up, so will the good flowing from the reporter."[38] This cynical interpretation of public official/reporter relationship symbolizes Nixon's paranoia about the media. He believes that the press is today too powerful that the Founding Father could not have foreseen the tremendous power of the mega-media monopolies.[39]

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[32] Ibid., Spear, The Nixon Legacy, p 47.

[33] Ibid., Spear, The Nixon Legacy, p. 48.

[34] Ibid., Tebbel, The Press and The Presidency, p. 501.

[35] Ibid., Tebbel.

[36] Spear, pp. 48-56.

[37] Tebbel, p. 503.

Although Nixon's dislike for the New York Times was well documented, he did not hide his hatred of two TV networks, National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), both tough critics of the president, according to Tebbel and Watts. Having discovered that the threat from television was stronger than from newspapers, Nixon had to do something quickly before the TV networks destroyed his presidency. So in a memo titled "The Shot Gun versus the Rifle," written by Jeb Magruder, an aide to Haldeman who specialized in press relations argued that "it was ineffective to pepper the press with shotgun blasts from several White House sources directed to many papers and voicing complaints about coverage."[40]

Magruder's strategy to counter negative coverage of Nixon was tantamount to nothing but blaming the messenger for bringing the bad news. In other words, the administration was expecting the media to present only the administration's side of a story. Nixon was not alone in nursing this expectation. Like other presidents before him, Nixon eager to use the media in promoting his agenda. According to James McCartney, "the federal government is so accustomed to using the [press] for its own end s that Presidents get annoyed and irritable when they find out, to their surprise, that on some occasions they cannot do so."[41] The purpose of Magruder's memo was to diffuse media criticisms of Nixon's policies by persistent gagging and blaming the networks, press and, even Congress for the negative publicity the president was receiving and in essence get them on the president's side.[42]

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[38] Richard Nixon In The Arena: A Memoir of Victory, Defeat, and Renewal (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), p. 258.

[39] Ibid., Nixon, In The Arena, p. 259.

[40] Ibid., Tebbel, The Press and The Presidency, p. 507.

[41] *Columbia Journalism Review*, "Must the Media Be 'Used,'?"Winter, 1969-70, p.37.

[42] Ibid., Tebbel.

Staying Ahead Of The Press

Even though the responsibility to keep the public informed has traditionally fallen on the shoulders of the mass media, the Nixon administration tried hard to assume some of this duty by inflating the budget of the official information system. According to Richard Reeves of the New York Magazine, the executive branch alone "spent over $400 million a year on information. That's more than twice as much money as AP, UPI, NBC, CBS, ABC and the ten largest newspapers in the country spend in their combined news budget."[43] Part of this astronomical budget was being used on news management techniques, i.e. provide the administration's version of news accounts. According to a distinguished scholar of the press, William L. Rivers high investment in the official information system was not wise because the Founding Fathers considered gathering disseminating of information a responsibility of the private press and thus refrained from setting up an official information system.[44]

Officials of the Nixon administration showed considerable contempt for the First Amendment by the way they tried to circumvent the provision, especially in its attempt to dictate to the media how to cover news events involving the White House. Perhaps, one of the most absurd of these often subtle but intimidating tactics by the administration was a statement by the director of the U.S. Information Agency, Frank Shakespeare, who claimed that "TV news was rather clearly liberally oriented [and called on broadcasters] to take a prospective employee's ideology into consideration, and that they attempt to balance the liberalism."[45] The administration did not hide its determination to censor the media, at least as from the standpoint of its actions and pronouncements. For example, shortly after he was appointed to the head the Federal Communications Commission, Dean Burch bewildered the media world when he requested several TV stations to submit "transcripts of their editorial comments on Mr. Nixon November 3, 1969 speech on Vietnam.'"[46] The following evidence substantiates the fear that many in the media had, which suggested that the Nixon administration had an elaborate plan to continue gagging the media into submission. This plan to harass and intimidate members of the media was evident in the actions by administration officials such as:

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[43] Ibid., *New York Magazine*, 1972, p. 50.

[44] Ibid., *New York Magazine*.

[45] Fred Powledge The Engineering of Restraint: The Nixon Administration and the Press (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1971), p. 43.

> •Vice President Agnew's blasts at the [TV] networks and certain newspapers, criticisms backed by the implied threat of government action through its licensing and anti-trust powers.
> •The Administration's attempt -- foiled by the Supreme Court -- to halt permanent publication in the New York Times and the Washington Post of information taken from the classified Pentagon Papers....
> •The Justice Department's argument that it does not adversely affect freedom of the press to require reporter to appear before a federal grand jury.
> •The FBI investigation of Columbia Broadcasting System newsman Daniel Schorr.[47]

Mr. Agnew's appeal demanded viewers "to write the networks to bring their views into accord with those of the majority, telling them that 'they want their news straight and objective,'"[48] The objective of these policies was to intimidate reporters. The intimidation campaign sometimes was overt such as in the warning issued by Herb Klein, director of White House Communications that "if you look at the problems you have, today and you fail to continue to examine them you do invite the government to come in."[49] The heavy-handedness with which the Nixon administration applied in dealing with the press constituted a big threat to news gathering. The response from some executives of newspapers, television and radio that the administration's approach had a "chilling effect" clearly justifies this fear.[50]

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[46] Ibid., Powledge.

[47] Ibid., *Congressional Quarterly*, 1972, p. 3.

[48] Ibid., *Congressional Quarterly*, p. 4.

[49] Ibid., *Congressional Quarterly*.

[50] Ibid.,Powledge, p. 6.

The Agnew domino

At the front of an orchestrated attempt to restrain the mass media, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's role was to attack the press "through speeches and public comments which have incited the public (largely ignorant of how the press operates) against the bearer of seemingly worsening news."[51] These assaults on the press continued unabated because "the press itself showed a "...disinclination to raise further controversy by energetically resisting the government's attempt."[52] In fact, the comments of some members of the 'liberal' wing of the press helped give legitimacy to government's claim that the media were biased. For example, the president of the Washington Post Company, Katherine Graham warned that "the news media was in danger of losing the one element for our future -- public trust" because of the reporters aggressive questioning of the Mr. Nixon during press conferences.[53] But contrary to Mrs. Graham's concern, Powledge argued that the chilling effect imposed by the Nixon administration on the media "would not have been so great if the press itself had fought harder for its freedom."[54]

Agnew's criticisms of the press soon became commonplace among members of the executive branch and its agencies, namely the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Justice Department. Even the legislative branch and the courts also joined the bandwagon of assaulting the press but briefly. For example, there was a congressional attempt to cite CBS for contempt over seeking of the Pentagon Papers.[55]

Agnew was extremely critical of television network reporters because they wielded, in his words, "a concentration of power over American public opinion unknown in history."[56] He often argued that because this reporters were so influential even though no one elected them, he felt their view points ought to be questioned. The vice president's attacks on the media was to legitimize administration's efforts to censor the media. Suddenly after Agnew had set the ball rolling, federal investigators began subpoenaing journalists, media organizations, and private citizens to produce films, unused photographs, correspondence, internal notes, and telephone logs of calls made.[57]

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[51] Ibid., Powledge, The Engineering of Restraint.

[52] Ibid., Powledge, The Engineering of Restraint, p. 7.

[53] *U.S. News & World Report* "Nixon and the Press: What's Happened to News Conferences," December 28 1970, p. 12.

[54] Ibid., *The New Republic*, December 4, 1971.

[55] Ibid., p. 8.

[56] *Congressional Quarterly*, January 1, 1972, p.4.

In 1970 for example, the government issued a subpoena to Earl Caldwell, a black reporter for the New York Times with strong connections with San Francisco area leadership of the Black Panthers.[58] The sole purpose of Caldwell's subpoena was to have him provide evidence against "David Hilliard, a Panther who the government had charged with making a threat against the president's life."[59] This illustrates how desperate the Nixon administration was in its quest to undermine the First Amendment. The harassment of journalists was an increasing trend as revealed by briefs submitted to the Supreme Court in the Caldwell case. For example, the:

> CBS and NBC television networks disclosed that between January 1969 and July 1970, they had received 122 subpoenas for film or reporters to testify in court or grand jury proceedings [and] fifty-two of the subpoenas came from governments, the remainder from individuals.

It would be an understatement to suggest that the effects of censorship during the Nixon administration were minimal. On the contrary, the fact that obscure means were used to restrain the media even aggravated its impact. There was a real threat to the gathering and dissemination of information in the print, broadcast and record industries. There were several documented incidents of assaults directed at vendors of the underground press; the Internal Revenue Service investigated journalists; some campus newspapers came under severe censorship; and policemen infiltrated organizations by posing as newsmen to get information, these groups would otherwise not want the administration and its agents to have.[60] Attacks against the press during the Nixon era were

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[57] Ibid., Powledge, pp. 11-12.

[58] Ibid., Powledge, The Engineering of Restraint.

[59] Ibid., Powledge.

[60] Ibid., Powledge, pp. 50-53.

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so pervasive "that they constitute[d] a massive federal-level attempt to subvert the letter and spirit of the First Amendment, according to Powledge."[61]

Conclusion

President Richard Nixon's relations with the media during his first two years in the White House was characterized by intimidation of journalists and their White House sources, litigation to impose restraint on the press, and outright censorship of news. To a considerable degree, the administration succeeded in making the task of gathering and disseminating information difficult because reporters had a difficult time getting information the administration did not want them to have. The imminent threat of severe punishment had a "chilling effect" in that it made White House aides extremely cautious and even hesitant to provide leaks to reporters. It is obvious that under these circumstances only the most courageous of aides and reporters risked their careers to pursue hard-to-come by news.

Interestingly enough, not all news organizations and journalists were cowed by the administration's strategies. Thanks to the courage of some reporters, Nixon's attempts to trample upon the First Amendment, and perhaps more importantly restrain the press was thwarted. Attempts by the administration to use the age-old tactic of restraining the press in the name of national security also failed. The New York Times v. U.S. (1971) Supreme Court decision, in some ways put a damper on censorship and prior restraint during that era and also vindicated the media of ideological accusation from the extreme right that they were liberally oriented and thus sympathetic to leftist courses.

Historically, presidents have always been faced with the temptation to impose prior restraint on media organizations that are diametrically or philosophically opposed to their policies, particularly controversial ones. While the relationship between presidents and the press cannot always be friendly, some Commander-In-Chiefs have done a better job at managing the

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[61] Ibid., Powledge, p. 6.

"marriage." The adversarial element of White House/press relations cannot be avoided; it is a part of the dynamics of the American democratic system. The adversarial element of the relationship is the only insurance policy to free expression. After all, the United States is a republic not a monarchy where criticizing the king is a taboo. Again, as Levy has so eloquently argued, the purpose of the First Amendment and, therefore, that of free expression was and continues to be to protect the "right to criticize the government,.its officers, and its policies as well as to comment on any matters of public concern."[62] Such debates cannot be expected to be friendly by any stretch of imagination. Even one time Nixon White House aid James Koegh would agree with this contention. According to Koegh, reporters have a right " to make judgments, express opinions, criticized and take stands."[63] Although he also believes that reports should stir away from presenting their story as universal truths and avoid distortions. Nixon's presidency could have been salvaged if the president had only acknowledged that the First Amendment protects against any form of official censorship. As we approach the 21st century, future presidents should heed to Mr. Nixon's prophetic advice against perceiving the media as enemies: "Always remember others [liberal reporters] may hate you but those who hate you don't win unless you hate them. And then you destroy yourself."[64]

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[62] Ibid., Levy, The Emergence of a Free Press, p. 272.

[63] James Koegh President Nixon and the Press (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1972, p. 158.

[64] Richard Nixon "Farewell to Cabinet Members & Aides," *The New York Times*, August 10, 1974, p. 4.

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OVER

THE PERSIAN GULF WAR:

REVOLUTION IN NEWS TRANSMISSION

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This paper was prepared for the American Journalism Historians Association, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan., Oct. 2, 1992.

The Persian Gulf War of 1991,[1] in which a United States-led coalition defeated Iraq, marked a revolution in transmission of war news. Not since the telegraphic transmission of war news emerged between 1846 and 1865 has such a transformation taken place. The technologies used by journalists to cover the gulf war foreshadow an era in which transmission of news from battlefields to television and newspaper newsrooms is largely free of military-controlled gateway facilities. Satellite-linked mobile telephone and television transmitters provided each journalist with a potential link to a newsroom. Remote satellite imaging showed a potential for providing battlefield panoramas. The significance of the gulf war for journalists is not the military's efforts to impose censorship. Rather it is the possibility of hundreds of transmission links to speed the flow of news to the public.

PROLOGUE

Just before 6:35 p.m. on Jan. 16, 1992, correspondent Gary Shepard, broadcasting from the Rashid Hotel in Baghdad, reported on the ABC Evening News that flashes were lighting the skies of the Iraqi capital. Seconds later Bernard Shaw informed a worldwide Cable News Network audience that explosions were shaking Baghdad and the war apparently had started. In the White House a surprised President George Bush exclaimed, "It's 20 minutes too early. . ." Bush picked up a telephone with a direct link to the Pentagon and talked to Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, who assured the president there had been no early strike.

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[1] Origin of the war was the invasion and occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in August, 1990. Acting under a United Nations resolution, the United States led a build-up of Western and Arab forces in Saudi Arabia. On Jan. 16, 1991, the coalition launched an air war against Iraq. On Feb. 23 coalition ground forces invaded Kuwait and Iraq and quickly defeated the Iraqi army. One hundred hours later President George Bush halted the war, although sporadic hostilities continued.

Cheney said what the president and much of the world was hearing was only anti-aircraft fire. Iraqi radar had detected American airplanes taking off from Saudi Arabian airfields and aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf and entering into Iraqi airspace. That touched off panicky firing by Iraqi batteries. At 7:02 p.m. Cheney phoned Bush and informed him, "The first bomb just hit, Mr. President, right on schedule."

Meanwhile, a senior military officer in the Pentagon, listening to the ABC and CNN reports on the attack on Baghdad, said a cruise missile was about to strike an Iraqi communications tower and cut off telephone communications between the Iraqi city and the outside world. He started counting off the seconds and when the countdown reached zero the target was hit and Baghdad was cut off from normal international telephone communication. ABC lost its live descriptions of the attack on the Iraqi capital.

These vignettes, published in the *Chicago Tribune*,[2] demonstrated that coverage of the war that would oust Iraq from Kuwait would be different.

Gary Shepard recalled that he had been "describing anti-aircraft fire lighting up the nighttime sky and bomb blasts on the horizon. . .An instant later, my phone connection went dead."[3]

Not so with Bernard Shaw. The cruise missile did not knock the CNN correspondent off the air. CNN had made arrangements for a protected land line to Amman, the capital of Jordan. For 16 and one-half hours Shaw and colleagues Peter Arnett and John Holliman broadcast descriptions of the attacks on Baghdad. The other three American TV networks sporadically restored links to the outside world, but only CNN maintained continuous broadcasts.

Finally, the Iraqi government, afraid that its national security was being endangered, shut down the broadcasts and expelled all journalists from American and other coalition news organizations except Arnett.[4] Later, Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader, permitted broadcasts to resume and let journalists return, but for many days Arnett, a veteran of many wars, was the only Western journalist in Iraq. His broadcasts were compelling and controversial. During the war more than one billion viewers in 108 nations watched at least one of CNN telecasts about the war.[5]

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[2] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1991.

[3] Shepard, Gary, "The Opening Hours of the War," *Communicator*, March, 1991, p. 8.

The broadcasts were by telephone. Had the conflict begun two days later, CNN viewers would have seen the start of the air war on live television. CNN had received permission to import a flyaway transmitter,[6] but it was in Amman when the war started. The network was forced to seek renewed permission from Iraq and not until Jan. 29 did the flyaway station arrive. Thereafter CNN transmitted live telecasts of aircraft and cruise missile attacks on Baghdad. Except for one telecast of a Scud missile descending in Saudi Arabia, the visuals of bombs and missile hitting the Iraqi capital were the only live coverage of actual combat during the war.

CNN was the public's most important source of gulf war news.[7] It also was a key source for the United States military. At the National Military Command Center in the Pentagon there are 12 area desks that are manned 24 hours a day and through which information from military commands, embassies and intelligence agencies is funneled. At each desk is a television set tuned to CNN. As Gen. Michael Dugan, former Air Force Chief of Staff, said, "While CNN is not the best source of intelligence in the world, it's the quickest source of intelligence for many kinds of events."[8]

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[4] "Television's War, and CNN's." *Broadcasting*, Jan. 21, 1991, p. 23.

[5] Smith, Perry M., *How CNN Fought the War: A View from the Inside* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1991), p. 186

[6] A flyaway kit is a portable television transmitter that can send signals to a satellite and then to network newsrooms. The name comes from the fact that it can be packed in suitcase-size containers and brought onto airliners as excess baggage.

[7] Dennis, Everett E., et al, *The Media at War: The Press and the Persian Gulf Conflict* (New York: Gannett Foundation, 1991), pp. 88-89.

[8] The Annenberg Washington Program and the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, *Television and the Gulf War: The Impact on Strategy and Decision Making*, Official Transcript, Washington, D.C., Sept. 26, 1991, pp. 37-38.

THE PAST AS PROLOGUE

Nobody realized more than James Gordon Bennett Sr., founder of the *New York Herald*, that news is a commodity whose value depends on its freshness. When the United States went to war with Mexico in 1846, Bennett recognized that the telegraph offered the *Herald* an opportunity to transmit news from the battlefield to the newsroom with unparalleled swiftness. The war was an "occasion for demonstrating enterprise and expertise in the coverage of some damn exciting news, news the nation couldn't wait to read about, and so he did his best to speed along the word."[9] The *Herald* joined with the *New Orleans Picayune* to use the correspondence from Mexico of George Kendall, editor of the *Picayune*. Kendall reported from northern Mexico, including coverage of the battles of Monterrey and Buena Vista, and then joined Gen. Winfield Scott's forces for the battles of Vera Cruz and Mexico City.[10]

Bennett organized a cooperative news transmission service in which Kendall's dispatches, after being sent to New Orleans by fast packet, were delivered by a 60-horse rider relay to Richmond, Va., then the southern terminus of telegraph service. The stories were then transmitted by telegraph to the *Herald*, *Baltimore Sun*, *Philadelphia Ledger* and *Boston Daily Mail*. The system was both expensive and speedy. Often the *Herald* published war news before it reached President James K. Polk by official courier. To avoid conflict Bennett had the *Herald*'s dispatches also delivered to the War Department.[11] During the first two weeks of 1846, a critical period of the war, the *Herald* spent $2,381 for telegraphic reports.[12] The *Herald* often trumpeted the transmission service. On Oct. 21, 1847, it reported:

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[9] Kluger, Richard, *The Paper: The Life and Death of the New York Herald Tribune* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), p. 63.

[10] Desmond, Robert W., *The Information Process: World News Reporting to the Twentieth Century* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978), p. 173.

[11] *Ibid*, pp. 173-176.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 109.

> Our readers will be pleased to see in this morning's *Herald* the long-looked for intelligence from the city of Mexico. It reached New Orleans on the 13th inst., and was brought by special overland express for the *New York Herald* and other papers. Owing to its importance, however, our special messenger was instructed to bring the intelligence to the government at Washington, and it will at once have general circulation throughout the country. This we thought due to the public.[13]

Thus did the United States government learn of the start of the battle for Mexico City.

Telegraphic transmission of news blossomed during the Crimean War in which Great Britain and France fought Russia. The dominant journalist in the Crimea was William Howard Russell, chief correspondent of the *Times* of London, whose circulation of 55,000 papers daily was then the world's largest. When the war started in 1854, the telegraph to London extended only as far as Vienna. It took 10 days to two weeks for dispatches from the Crimea to reach London. In 1855 the telegraph was extended through Bucharest to Varna, a Bulgarian port on the Black Sea. The British laid a 400-mile underwater cable from Varna to Sebastopol and Balaclava. Constantinople also was connected by cable to Balaclava. The cable and telegraph reduced transmission time to London to 12 hours.[14] Generally, official displeasure with Russell's reportage resulted in use of the cable being denied to him, but after the fall of Sebastopol he managed to file this story:

> CRIMEA---September 10th---11 p.m.
>
> I inspected to-day Sebastopol and its lines of defence.. The mind cannot form an exact picture of our victory, the full

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[13] *New York Herald*, Oct. 21, 1847, quoted in Hudson, Frederic, *Journalism in the United States from 1690 to 1872*, published 1873 (New York: Haskell House reprint, 1968), p. 477.

[14] Desmond, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182; Furneaux, Robert, *The First War Correspondent: William Howard Russell of The Times* (London: Cassell & Co., 1944), p. 39.

> extent of which can only be understood by an inspection of the place itself.
>
> The multiplicity of the works of defence and the material means applied thereto exceed by far anything hitherto seen in the history of war.
>
> The capture of the Malakoff, which compelled the enemy to fly before our eagles, already three times victorious, has placed in the hands of the Allies an amount of material and immense establishments, the importance of which it is not yet possible to state exactly.
>
> To-morrow the allied troops will occupy the Karabelnaia and the town, and under their protection an Anglo-French Commission will be occupied with making a return of the material abandoned to us by the enemy.
>
> The exultation of the soldiers is very great, and it is with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur" that they celebrate their victory in the camp.[15]

When he was refused use of the cable, Russell employed fast boats to get his correspondence to Constantinople or Varna and move it quickly to London.

Except for a few restrictions at the end of the campaign, there was no censorship of British correspondents in the Crimea. Russell's dispatches describing the battle of Balaclava immortalized "the thin red line" of British infantry and inspired Alfred Lord Tennyson to write *The Charge of the Light Brigade*.[16] His stories of incompetence and inefficiency "stirred a people, not often given to anger, to indignation that their army should be allowed to die."[17] The correspondence caused the fall of the Earl of Aberdeen's government "by a majority so large that when the figures were announced they were greeted not with the usual cheers, but with surprised silence, followed by derisive laughter."[18] Descriptions of the plight of British soldiers persuaded Florence Nightingale to bring a mission of nurses to the Crimea.[19] None of this likely would have happened if the telegraph had not brought war news to the public so quickly.

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[15] *Times* of London, Sept. 13, 1855.

[16] Desmond, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[17] Furneaux, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

Not all stories described incompetency and hardship. What Russell and other correspondents[20] in the Crimea wrote created unparalleled military security difficulties. Armies still moved by foot and horse wagon. What was published in the *Times* was transmitted to St. Petersburg. One Russell dispatch read:

> The country around Varna is one vast camp. About 34,000 French troops, 15,000 English, and 8.500 Turks and Egyptians have pitched their tents there. Lord Ragland, the Duke of Cambridge, Sir George Brown, Sir De L. Evans, and most of the other English generals are in quarters in and about the town, and the French have sent two-thirds of their troops to this point, while other divisions are pushing up here from Bourgas and Adrianople. Upwards of 300 vessels are at anchor in the bay, and are in readiness to sail at a moment's notice. The Light Division is still in advance here.[21]

Similar stories were filed throughout the war. Lord Raglan, the British commander, informed the War Office of Russell's security breaches and commented that he was satisfied "that it never has occurred to him that he is serving more essentially the cause of the Russians."[22] Raglan alleged that a Russell dispatch that described the location of the British powder dump "must be invaluable to the Russians."[23] Prince Gortchakoff, the Russian commander, informed Russell later that he read his correspondence regularly "but I am bound to admit that I never received any information from them, or learned anything that I had not known beforehand."[24] The commander's statement apparently was an accommodation because other sources claimed his dispatches were a major source of Russian intelligence.[25] In fact, while Russell's stories may have aided the Russians, British authorities were more alarmed at the effect of Russell's exposure of official misfeasance than of security breaches.[26]

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[18] Churchill, Winston S., *A History of the English Speaking Peoples*, Vol. 4 (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1966), p. 77.

[19] Furneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Desmond, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[20] The *Daily Mail* correspondent was Edwin L. Godkin, later editor of the *Nation* and New York *Evening Post*.

[21] Furneaux, *op. cit.*, p. 82, quoting dispatch filed June 24, 1855.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*

Curiously enough, while sending of war news by telegraph reached full flower during the American Civil War, sporadic and often politically motivated censorship highlighted the importance of having other channels of transmission. With the onset of war, the government seized control of telegraph transmission from Washington.[27] After the battle of Bull Run in 1861, Uriah Painter, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* correspondent, hopped a freight train to Philadelphia and there wrote the story of the Union defeat. Censors had permitted only false dispatches of a victory to be transmitted by telegraph. Painter's story was the "first full-length account of the defeat to be printed. So great was the revulsion of feeling it produced that an indignant crowd gathered. . .outside the newspaper office and threatened to wreck it."[28] Soon newsmen were using telegraph offices in Baltimore and Philadelphia or fast night trains to New York to send copy. Where time was not essential, sensitive copy was sent by mail.[29] Throughout the war "unauthorized news was continually finding its way into print through numerous unsealed channels."[30]

Nevertheless, telegraph-transmitted stories dominated the columns of metropolitan newspapers. Andrews wrote:

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[24] *Ibid*, p. 86; Mathews, Joseph J., *Reporting the Wars* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 200.
[25] Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.
[26] *Ibid*, p. 201.
[27] U.S. House of Representatives, House Report No. 64, 37th Cong., 2d Sess., 1862, p. 1.
[28] Ritchie, Donald A., *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 98; Andrews, J. Cutler, *The North Reports the Civil War*, paperback ed. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), p. 95.
[29] Randall, J.G., "The Newspaper Problem in its Bearing upon Military Secrecy during the Civil War," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 23 (1918), p. 306.
[30] *Ibid*.

> (F)or the first time in American history, the transmission of war news by telegraph was undertaken on a large scale. Newspapers which previously printed not more than two or three columns of telegraph news a day were now printing two or three pages of it and frequently were keeping open for telegraphic news until one o'clock in the morning or later. The telegraphing of reports was one of the largest items of newspaper expenditure. The (New York) *Herald*, for example, paid at the rate of two hundred fifty dollars a column for its telegraphic account of the Battle of Chickamauga, and the transmission of the story of the capture of New Orleans cost the same newspaper no less than a thousand dollars.[31]

The *Herald* spent more than $500,000 for war reportage during the Civil War. Most of that sum went for telegraph charges.[32]

The Civil War was marked by efforts---sometimes bumbling---of journalists and the military to come to terms with the technology of news transmission. Information was "frequently published that could be used with advantage by the enemy. . .Moreover, there is ample evidence it was so used. A flourishing trade developed across the lines in the newspapers of both sides, and military information of one side found space in the journals of the other."[33] Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton grumbled that "(y)ou can count on no secrecy in the Navy. Newspapers have the run of that department."[34] Raphael Semmes, captain of the Confederate raider *Alabama*, said he learned of the positions of Union warships by reading about them in newspapers.[35] Union commanders had different experiences with the press. Gen. George B. McClellan reached an agreement with correspondents on what could be printed without endangering security,[36] but he soon protested to the *New York Times* that its publication of six-column map showing the location of his lines and the identity of divisions defending them endangered his command.[37] Gen. William T. Sherman had tumultuous relations with the press and had Thomas W. Knox, a correspondent for the *New York Herald*, court-martialed and expelled from his command.[38] Twice Gen. Henry W. Halleck ordered reporters removed from battle areas,[39] and Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was incensed that Confederate commanders learned of batteries secretly sited near Vicksburg from Memphis newspapers.[40] Gen. Robert E. Lee, the leading Confederate commander, studied Northern newspapers and became so sophisticated he could identify those correspondents on whose accuracy he could rely.[41]

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[31] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[32] Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[33] *Ibid*, p. 86.

[34] *Ibid*, p. 85.

[35] Gottschalk, Jack A., "'Consistent with Security'. . .A History of American Military Press Censorship," *Communications and the Law*, Vol. 7 (Summer, 1983), p. 37.

[36] House Report No. 64, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Probably journalists and commanders could have reached an accommodation to preserve security but for the penchant of government to censor political news and criticism of military actions. Telegraphic censorship was administered with an uneven hand and often favored pro-Lincoln administration newspapers.[42] The press complained to the House Judiciary Committee of "unreasonable strictness in censoring of their despatches (and) of an unequal policy which benefited some papers at the expense of others."[43] The committee concurred and urged that "the government should not interfere with the free transmission of intelligence by telegraph when the same will not aid the public enemy in his military or naval operations."[44] Such a policy was not carried out. Surveying the breaches of military security and exposures of military pecadilloes and incompetence, the *New York Times* concluded that security breaches were the price that had to be paid for maintaining public support for the war through a free flow of information.[45]

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[37] Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[38] Marszalek, John F., "The Knox Court-Martial: W.T. Sherman Puts the Press on Trial," *Military Law Review*, Vol. 59 (1973), pp. 197-214.

[39] Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-187, 267-268; Randall, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

[40] Randall, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[41] Mathews, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[42] Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 648-650.

[43] Randall, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[44] House Report No. 64, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

The underwater cable in the Crimean War and the telegraph in the Civil War came under the control of governments. That gave governments an advantage in the contest for control of war news because they controlled the gateway transmission facilities. While trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific cables were laid and radio came of age, speed and function of war news transmission changed little during the next 125 years. News could be sent with celerity, but only through gateways controlled by governments. By World War I the military had perfected censorship. At first French and British commanders refused to permit correspondents to go forward to the front lines, but then relented and imposed strict field censorship.[46] Much of the censorship was political. Great Britain controlled most of the world's undersea cables. When the British concluded that dispatches of International News Service, owned by William Randolph Hearst, were pro-German, trans-Atlantic transmission of its stories was denied to the wire service.[47] The system of strict field censorship, backed by control of transmission gateways, was in place when the United States entered the war. Censorship also was enforced by accreditation. At least seven of the 60 correspondents accredited to the American Expeditionary Force, including Westbrook Pegler and Heywood Broun, lost their credentials for violating censorship rules.[48]

Edward R. Murrow and other correspondents made live radio broadcasts from fighting fronts during World War II, but the broadcasts had to pass through government-controlled transmitters.[49] Censorship in American commands varied in strictness. In the Southwest Pacific Command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, it was dictatorial and political. No stories that found fault with MacArthur could be transmitted. Sometimes MacArthur read and edited copy.[50] Relations between journalists and the military were better in Europe where correspondents roamed freely and accompanied the first waves of troops onto the beaches of Normandy on D-Day.[51] Nevertheless, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower prevented journalists from reporting the American and British support of Vichy-tainted political groups instead of Charles DeGaulle's Free French movement during the North African campaign.[52] Later, Edward Kennedy, an Associated Press correspondent, circumvented censorship and reported the surrender of Germany in violation of a news blackout imposed by Eisenhower, who wanted the news suppressed until a ceremony that included the Soviet Union could be held. The wire service fired Kennedy.[53]

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[45] Hohenberg, John, *Free Press/Free People* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 123-124.

[46] Mathews, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

[47] Desmond, Robert W., *Windows on the World: World News Reporting 1900-1920* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980), pp. 313-314. One response of INS was to pirate Associated Press copy in the United States. International News Service v. Associated Press, 248 U.S. 215 (1918).

[48] Crozier, Emmet, *American Reporters on the Western Front* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1959), pp. 280-281.

After an initial six months of voluntary censorship during which vague guidelines often were violated and the accreditation of some correspondents was lifted, mandatory censorship was imposed during the Korean War.[54] The period of voluntary censorship had been marked by a combination of violations of security[55] and of publication of stories that embarrassed the military.[56] The censorship was oppressive. Censors killed stories about deep and pervasive corruption of South Korean officials and of collaboration with the enemy by American prisoners of war.[57] Often journalists circumvented censors by using code words during telephone calls to bureaus in Tokyo.[58] However, the most serious violations of security in the Korean War came from public statements of MacArthur[59] and from the Central Intelligence Agency, which fed secrets to Kim Philby, the British Embassy intelligence liaison and a Soviet spy.[60]

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[49] Sperber, A.M., *Murrow: His Life and Times* (New York: Freunlich Books, 1986), pp. 142-145.

[50] Knightley, Phillip, *The First Casualty* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 281-282; Manchester, William, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur 1880-1964* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1978), pp. 359, 371.

[51] Desmond, Robert, *Tides of War: World News Reporting 1931-1945* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1984), pp. 330-331: Gottschalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

[52] Gottschalk, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

[53] *Ibid*, pp. 43-44; Desmond, *Tides of War, op. cit.*, pp. 404-408.

[54] Gottschalk, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[55] Voorhees, Melvin, *Korean Tales* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952), p. 104. Voorhees was the chief censor of the Eighth Army.

[56] Knightley, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-338.

Censorship was not imposed during the Vietnam War and journalists were given wide freedom to cover combat operations.[61] Instead war correspondents were provided with security guidelines. If a correspondent violated the guidelines, the military could revoke his accreditation and expel him from Vietnam. Over the course of the war only six violations were deemed serious enough to merit lifting of credentials.[62] Only two of the violations seriously endangered security of a military action or troop safety.[63] The self-censorship to avoid breaching military secrecy produced an optimum. While military security was preserved, the government was not able to censor stories that caused political embarrassment or exposed military incompetence. Fed by military officers seeking a scapegoat for the American defeat in Vietnam and television journalists enamored of the power of their medium, much mythology surrounds press coverage of the Vietnam War. Television coverage "was most often banal and stylized"[64] and did not turn the American public against the war. As with the Korean War, according to the U.S. Army's official history:

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[57] *Ibid*, pp. 350-351.

[58] Voorhees, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

[59] United States v. Voorhees, 4 USCMA 509 (1954). The case was a court-martial of Voorhees for publishing *Korean Tales* without Army clearance.

[60] Manchester, *op. cit.*, pp. 596-598.

[61] Braestrup, Peter, "Background Paper," in *Battle Lines*, Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the Military and the Media (New York: Priority Press, 1965), pp. 62-65

[62] Gottschalk, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[63] Sidle, Winant, "A Battle Behind the Scenes: The Gulf War Reheats Military-Media Controversy," *Military Review*, Vol. 71 (September, 1991), p. 55.

[64] Hammond, William M., *Public Affairs: The Military and the Media, 1962-1968*, United States Army in Vietnam Series (Washington: Army Center of Military History, 1988), p. 387.

> What alienated the American public, in both the Korean and Vietnam Wars, was not news coverage but casualties. Public support for each war dropped inexorably by 15 percentage points whenever total U.S. casualties increased by a factor of ten.[65]

The Vietnam War provided evidence that the military is not assured of control of gateway transmission facilities. Post-World War II growth of telephone facilities made it difficult to control international traffic even to an underdeveloped nation such as South Vietnam. Further, correspondents could easily fly on civilian airliners to a nearby country and file from there if censorship had been imposed and journalists wanted to avoid it.[66] Moreover, the military lacked the facilities to censor the huge amount of television film shot during the war.[67] The military's consolidation of control of gateway transmission facilities that had started after the Civil War and continued into the post-World War II era showed signs of breaking down.

TRANSMISSION TECHNOLOGY AND THE GULF WAR

The American military's news policy in the Gulf War operated on two levels. Coverage of troops was limited to pools of journalists accompanied by military public affairs officers. Pool copy and videotape was to be shared.[68] Pool reports were subjected to field censorship.[69] Other coverage in the gulf was free of field censorship, but the military issued security guidelines which journalists were expected to follow and violation of which could cause loss of accreditation.[70] Some pooling---without the public affairs officers---was desirable. More than 1,400 journalists were accredited in the gulf. Not all correspondents could descend on one troop concentration or battle area at once. Forty-three journalists were with pools in the field when the ground war started. By the time of mop-up operations 193 correspondents were with combat troops or on warships.[71] The pools produced prodigious amounts of copy, but much of it was delayed in transit to pool headquarters at Dhahran and lost newsworthiness.

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[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Braestrup, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Often the pool journalists refused to share copy or videotape, a departure from practice in earlier wars. Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[69] U.S. Department of Defense, "Guidelines for News Media," Jan. 14, 1991.

[70] Sidle, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

In part the pool policy did not work because the American military, particularly the Army, did not provide the logistics needed to provide prompt transmission of pool copy to Dhahran. The pool system was designed so that the copy from pool reporters would provide a mosaic of battle action. Because pool copy was not current, it often was not news by the time it reached Dhahran and passed security review. Much copy from the Army arrived days late.[72] The Marine Corps, realizing the value to it of publicity, made efforts to get timely copy to Dhahran. As a result, the marines' combat received more play that their secondary role it the war warranted.[73] Because of better advance planning and provision of satellite communication facilities by its military, British journalists were able to transmit timely reports direct from the battlefield.[74]

The pool policy also did not work because journalists busted it. It seemed to work during the air war, but this was more a result of the war scenes being behind Iraqi lines. Iraq did not permit Western journalists in Kuwait. When a CBS team, led by correspondent Bob Simon, tried to go into Iraqi-held territory, the team members were captured and treated brutally before being released.[75] In the one military ground action prior to the 100-hour ground war, the Iraqi capture of the Saudi coastal town of Khafji, the pool system failed. Once it was apparent there was fighting at Khafji, both pool correspondents and several so-called unilaterals---journalists not in any pool---rushed to the town. Military briefers in Riyadh claimed Arab troops recaptured Khafji while the battle was still raging and falsely stated American troops were only marginally involved. Both the pool and unilateral journalists accurately reported that Arab troops fought poorly and that Americans were responsible for retaking the town. Not only did the military fail in its effort to falsely portray the contributions of Arab troops, but it received a public relations setback when its distortions were exposed.[76]

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[71] Statements of Maj. Gen. Winant Sidle, USA (ret.), and Pete Williams, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, Senate Committee on Government Operations ("Senate Hearings"), Feb. 20, 1991. Sidle is a former Army chief of public affairs and was the chief military spokesman in Vietnam.

[72] Fialka, John J., *Hotel Warriors* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1991), pp. 11-24.

[73] *Ibid*, pp. 25-31.

[74] *Ibid*, pp. 63-64.

[75] The CBS employees had been accredited by American authorities and carried credentials as war correspondents. Thus, in addition to general violations of internation law, Iraq violated the provisions of the Geneva Conventions relating to war correspondents.

Once the ground war started, the effort to confine coverage to pools collapsed. Unilaterals rushed to the front lines. ABC's Forrest Sawyer accompanied and reported live the progress of Saudi and other Arab troops. CBS's Bob McKeown was the first journalist to reach Kuwait City. Both McKeown and CNN's Charles Jaco reported from the Kuwaiti capital several hours before coalition troops arrived. CBS's Richard Threlkeld covered troop actions west of Kuwait City.[77] In isolated areas such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the breaking of the pool policy was possible only because journalists were equipped with portable satellite-linked telephones and flyaway TV stations. These inventions permitted journalists to avoid any military-controlled gateway transmission facilities. Moreover, television also made use of satellite remote imaging for the first time in a war involving American troops.

The portable satellite-linked telephones, first developed for maritime use, currently come in suitcase-sized terminals and weigh about 60 pounds.[78] Included in the terminal is a collapsible dish from which voice or other signals are transmitted to a satellite. Computer data can be transmitted through the system as well as facsimiles. Thus, print journalists can use the telephones to talk with their newsrooms or transmit stories written on laptop computers. Signals are sent to one of four Inmarsat satellites orbiting the earth at 23,600 miles and then to a ground station where they are routed to a receiver just as any telephone call.[79] Prior to the arrival of a flyaway TV station, most of Peter Arnett's reports from Baghdad were via satellite-linked telephone. He said:

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[76] Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31; Fialka, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[77] Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 20; "War Takes Its Toll On Networks," *Broadcasting*, May 4, 1991.

[78] The sizes and weights of both satellite-linked portable telephones and flyaway television transmitters are being reduced rapidly.

> My means of communication was an Inmarsat phone, a suitcase-size link with the world that I would drag out each evening and aim at the heavens, while dialing into the International Desk at CNN headquarters in Atlanta. At my end, we crouched in the chill of the evening, "we" being myself and at least one Iraqi censor, or "minder" as these censors came to be called. I prepared a simple two-minute script that the minder approved, and that I then read into the phone.[80]

To avoid some of the censorship, Arnett developed a question-and-answer procedure with Atlanta in which Iraqi censors could not hear the questions asked.[81] Unlike many members of the public, military strategists viewed Arnett's broadcasts as helpful. Adm. Frank Kelso, chief of naval operations, said Arnett's reports helped confirm the kind of damage the air war was inflicting on Baghdad.[82] Major newspapers and the networks used satellite telephones to talk to their correspondents in Saudi Arabia and later in Kuwait. Journalists unfolded three-foot diameter dishes on hotel balconies and beamed stories from their laptop computers to an Inmarsat satellite.[83] Lacking a satellite-linked telephone, Scott Simon, a National Public Radio correspondent, persuaded a French communications squad to beam a story to a satellite. It was downlinked to the British Broadcasting Corp., which passed it to NPR in Washington.[84]

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[79] "Satellite Telephone The Size Of A Suitcase," *Communicator*, March, 1991.

[80] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1991.

[83] *Ibid.*

[84] Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Flyaway TV stations hold the promise of real time coverage of combat. It happened in the gulf war only in coverage of air and cruise missile raids on Baghdad and on the shooting down of an Iraqi Scud missile. In fact, the gulf war armor battles often were fought at distances out of line-of-sight, Nevertheless, the coverage provided intelligence both to a viewing public and to policymakers. Assessments from intelligence agencies during the war often were dated because the events reported had been seen on CNN.[85] As with the satellite-linked telephones, the flyaway TV stations are free of military-controlled gateway facilities.

Both the satellite-linked telephones and TV transmitters raise a security problem. An technologically sophisticated military force, such as those of the United States or Israel, can monitor signals being sent to a satellite and locate the site of the transmitter. There is no evidence that Iraq has this capability. Nevertheless, Israel forbade live telecasts from the scenes of Scud explosions due to a fear that Iraq could monitor signals and target its missiles based on locations of transmissions. When NBC violated a ban on such telecasts, its permission to broadcast from Israel was revoked. At first the network dismissed the Israeli fears, but later recognized them. Anchorman Tom Brokaw apologized on behalf of NBC and Israel restored broadcast privileges.[86]

On Feb. 23, 1991, CBS Evening News used images of Kuwait taken by a United States Landsat satellite. The satellite images showed 190 oil well fires in Kuwait set by Iraq troops. Interpretations by Marine Gen. George Crist (ret.) disclosed that 25 percent of Kuwait was covered with smoke. The images also showed Iraqi defense positions and an airfield that had been heavily bombed by coalition warplanes. Crist pointed out the difficulties that Iraqi troops faced from the fires that had been set.[87] Earlier, on Jan. 14, ABC telecast satellite images in its special, *A Line in the Sand.* ABC used the images to construct a simulation of the terrain United States

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[85] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 22, 1991.

[86] *Ibid*, Dec. 23, 1991.

[87] Transcript of news segment supplied by Jeremy Lipschultz, University of Nebraska-Omaha.

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pilots would see when flying over Kuwait.[88] Use of images produced by remote satellite sensing started in the mid-1980s. Networks and some newspapers used images of Chernobyl after a nuclear power accident, of a Soviet nuclear submarine base on the Barents Sea, a nuclear test site, a space shuttle station and a huge radar station that violated the U.S.-Soviet anti-ballistic missile treaty; of Iranian Silkworm missile sites in the gulf area, of rocket sites in Libya, and of New York harbor during the 1986 July 4th celebration.[89]

ABC purchased the images for *A Line in the Sand* from a Russian agency after French SPOT officials refused to sell their images of the gulf area. Until the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, France had maintained a nondiscriminatory policy in selling its satellite imagery. In the past ABC had used SPOT images to show a Russian radar facility that violated the U.S.-Soviet anti-ballistic missile treaty and a Soviet nuclear submarinel base. Under its gulf war policy, SPOT would sell only to the Pentagon. An ABC journalist said one of the Russian images showed---ABC did not use it---the disposition of warplanes at Dhahran.[90] The use of satellite images poses difficulties that have yet to be addressed in security guidelines. The best satellite images have come from French SPOT and a Russian agency because the Pentagon has prevented Earth Observation Satellite Corp., which operates Landsats, from selling high resolution images. The French and Russians are more interested in commercial uses. According to Lt. Gen. Eugene F. Tithe Jr. (ret.), former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, SPOT officials showed computer-enhanced images "that allowed them to demonstrate the facial features of a small girl on the steps of the Los Angeles Trade Center."[91]

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[88] "Tracing the line in the sand," *Electronic Media*, Feb. __, 1991.

[89] *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 26, 1987; *New York Times*, Aug. 25, 1986; "The Image Analysts," *Washington Journalism Review*, November, 1987; "Remote possibilities for remote sensing," *Broadcasting*, July 20, 1987; "Spot Photographs Secret Base For USSR Nuclear Submarines," *Aviation Week*, July 20, 1987.

[90] *Electronic Media*, Feb. __, 1991.

[91] *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 26, 1987.

So far the press must rely on competition provided by the French and Russians to provide newsworthy satellite images free of U.S. military control.[92] Proposals have been made for a remote-imaging satellite to be launched by a consortium of American news agencies. So far the project does not appear economically feasible.[93] Current remote-sensing satellites pose no significant security threat, but the Pentagon is worried about the possibility of a media-owned satellite that transmits near real-time images of high quality. Shelf technology exists for it. Such a satellite would create huge difficulties in preserving the secrecy of military actions if not subjected to censorship.[94]

One of the mysteries of the gulf war is a Russian satellite image printed by the *St. Petersburg Times*.[95] The image purportedly was of southern Kuwait in September, 1990, at a time the Pentagon said Iraq had concentrated troops in the region. The image showed no evidence of a build-up. Other news organizations were unable to confirm the story. Pete Williams, the Pentagon's chief spokesman, said he reviewed military satellite photos and saw "barbed wire, trenches filled with oil, tanks, positions for armor and other evidence of the build-up."[96] Williams assured the *Chicago Tribune* and ABC and CBS News that the build-up was clearly visible in military photos.[97]

CONCLUSIONS

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[92] In June, 1978, President Jimmy Carter issued a classified directive that limits U.S. civilian remote-sensing satellites to a resolution of 10 meters. U.S. Congress, Congressional Research Service, "Mediasat: The Use of Remote-Sensing Satellites by News Agencies," Jan. 28, 1987, p. 4. A 10-meter resolution is able to distinguish but not necessarily identify a ground feature 10 meters in size.

[93] U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, "Commercial Newsgathering from Space," May, 1987, p. 4.

[94] Statement of Maj. Gen. Jack Thomas, USAF (ret.), Seminar on Satellite Photography, the First Amendment and National Security, Association of the Bar of New York City, Dec. 9, 1987.

[95] *St. Petersburg Times*, Jan. 6, 1991.

[96] "Satellite Picture Puzzle: No Iraqis," *Washington Journalism Review*, May, 1991, p. 14.

[97] *Ibid.*

A lot was missed in coverage of the gulf war, but the much-maligned pool system, with the public affairs officers, was not responsible much of the debacle. One of the biggest missed stories was the decimation by warplanes of two mechanized Iraqi divisions, totaling more than 20,000 troops, while the battle for Khafji was in progress. It was the "first time in history a major ground offensive was stopped in its track by air power."[98] Another missed story was the destruction of an Iraqi division in southern Iraq after the ceasefire had taken effect. Apparently some armor had fired on American troops and triggered the battle.[99] There were no American casualties in either battle. Prior to the ground war, little was missed save Ernie Pyle-type stories due to the pooling system. This was primarily a result of the air combat being within Iraqi lines where American journalists were not permitted to go.

The pool system collapsed once the ground war started. Correspondents ignored military directives and sped to the front. They reported over satellite-linked telephones and TV transmitters. Some of the reporters in pools produced good copy, but the delays in getting it back to pool headquarters in Dhahran marginalized it. The best coverage came from non-pool journalists who joined troop advances or raced to Kuwait City, Their performance was possible only because of new satellite-linked transmission. The gulf war marked a revolution in transmission technology that equaled the impact of the telegraph between 1845 and 1865. The technology promises to shift power in military-media conflicts.

The advent of the new communications technology was recognized in the set of principles adopted by the Department of Defense in the wake of the gulf war. The adoption followed eight months of discussions between Pentagon and media representatives. While the Pentagon continued to insist on a right to review copy, one of the principles read:

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[98] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

[99] *New York Times*, March __, 1991.

> Consistent with its capabilities, the military will supply PAOs (public affairs officers) with facilities to enable timely, secure, compatible transmission of pool material and will make these facilities available whenever possible for filing independent coverage. In cases when government facilities are unavailable, journalists will, as always, file by any other means available. *The military will not ban communications systems operated by news organizations, but electromagnetic operational security in battlefield situations may require restrictions on the use of such systems.*[100]

Media representatives are unhappy with the continued spectre of censorship by prior review. But journalist Nicholas Horrock said, "Security review is going to be nearly impossible because of technology."[101] Horrock's view is that the military will be able to stop news reports only by blocking out one or more communication satellites or by denying access.[102] "(L)ook, in five years every journalist will have a (satellite) telephone in his hip pocket," Peter Arnett said. "They (the military) can talk tough, but time is on our side and technology is on our side."[103]

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[100] U.S. Department of Defense, "Pentagon Adopts Combat Coverage Principles," News Release, May 21, 1992. Italics added.

[101] Gersh, Debra, "New guidelines for war coverage in place," *Editor & Publisher*, June 6, 1992. Horrock is Washington bureau chief of the *Chicago Tribune*.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1991.

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OVER

SOUTH DAKOTA'S W.R. RONALD
PRAIRIE EDITOR AND AN AAA EXPONENT

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American Journalism Historians Association
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SOUTH DAKOTA'S W.R. RONALD

PRAIRIE EDITOR AND AAA EXPONENT

For a small-town South Dakota editor to help promote, write and enact national legislation is rather unusual. Yet this is precisely what William Roy Ronald, editor and publisher of the Mitchell, South Dakota, DAILY REPUBLIC from 1909-1951, did. He was a largely unnoted exponent of the New Deal's Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) in the early 1930s.

Ronald had bought his newspaper, then called the REPUBLICAN, in 1909. Before his purchase of the paper and during the first few years of his ownership, the name was an accurate reflection of its political philosophy. But Ronald came to steer it on an increasingly Progressive Republican course, and eventually, even sometimes a more Democratic course, in heavily Republican South Dakota. In 1932, Ronald became part of a highly influential group that wrote and promoted farm legislation, and that fall he for the first time endorsed a Democrat for election as United State President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

For this editor, who wrote in his very first Mitchell editorial about being "free to express his own views and convictions in his own way,"[1] independence had started to come from the Republican party, at least its more conservative wing, in the 1920s, and Ronald came to feel a great affinity for South

Dakota's maverick and progressive Republican, Peter Norbeck, first governor, and later, United States Senator. This link with Norbeck, with whom Ronald conducted a long private correspondence as well as public editorial assessment, would be key in the drive to shape farm legislation in the early 1930s.

Two things happened to make Ronald increasingly independent of formal party ties--the Republican party at the national, and eventually, state, levels became too conservative for Ronald, and Ronald himself changed in political thinking. In addition, Ronald came to view agriculture and its economic well-being as his foremost editorial concern.

One can hardly term this interest in farm matters surprising for South Dakota was and still is heavily dependent on the agricultural economy. But Ronald's positions were characterized by depth and clarity, in light of our later knowledge. He correctly identified the causes and complexities of the farm problem and tried to push unwilling farm groups and politicians into action.

The situation in rural America began to deteriorate in the 1920s, before the rest of the county moved into the Great Depression. The farmer did not share in the post-war prosperity of the 1920s, and such movements as the Nonpartisan League, the 1924 Progressives and the vain attempts by the Congressional Farm Bloc to enact the McNary-Haugen farm bill were all manifestations of an agrarian unrest that long predated the 1929 stock market crash.[2]

Given this background of agrarian unrest and Ronald's interest in the farm situation, it was probably just a matter of time for this small-town South Dakota editor to expand his involvement beyond the pages of his own newspaper. As early as the late 1920s, economist John Black, then of the University of Minnesota, and later of Harvard, had formulated a governmental approach to agricultural policy that he called "domestic allotment." The basic idea of domestic allotment, which underwent many changes in both name and form, was to pay producers a free trade price plus the tariff for the part of the crop consumed domestically, and the price without tariff for the part that was exported, with a system of allotments to individual producers of rights to sell the part of the crop in the domestic market.[3]

In South Dakota, Ronald's fellow editor, Robert Lusk of the EVENING HURONITE, published 50 miles north and west of Mitchell, had advocated the plan editorially in early 1931, and as a result had been invited to a meeting in Chicago in April 1932 to promote the domestic allotment concept. Lusk had told Ronald about the meeting when he found that he would be unable to attend, and as Ronald wrote years later, "I told him I would go if for no other reason than curiosity."[4] There was actually another connection as well because one of Ronald's editorials had caught the attention of agricultural economist M.L. Wilson of Montana State College, the unofficial chair of the Chicago meeting, and Wilson had had Ronald invited, with Ronald sending a formal acceptance to Wilson.[5]

It was a most unlikely group that met in Chicago on April 19, 1932. There was the agricultural economist Wilson, and Henry A. Wallace, editor of WALLACES' FARMER in Des Moines, as well as George Peeke, a McNary-Haugen exponent and later first administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, in addition to editor Ronald. There were also a number of businessmen, whose presence would prove crucial both in later political developments and in providing financial support for the domestic allotment group's work.[6]

The very diversity of the group was central to its ultimate success in effecting farm legislation, for these were men with key connections to power centers in the business and political spheres. Moreover, some of them would provide financial resources to keep the domestic allotment group going. And in Ronald they had a skilled publicist who would effectively and widely promote the concept throughout the country.

The major outcome of the Chicago meeting was the appointment of a smaller group, headed by Wilson, and including Ronald and Wallace, called the Voluntary Domestic Allotment Committee, and empowered to proceed on a permanent basis. Immediately after the meeting, Wilson traveled east to make connections in both Washington and New York.[7] On his way back to Montana, Wilson stopped in Mitchell, at Ronald's invitation, to address a meeting of bankers, farmers and businessmen called by Ronald, a meeting prominently reported by both the Mitchell EVENING REPUBLICAN and Robert Lusk's EVENING HURONITE.[8]

During the next several months, which brought several abortive attempts to pass a domestic allotment bill in Congress, Wilson and Ronald both traveled, maintaining contacts with leaders of both Republican and Democratic parties, and with Ronald making arrangements with the Associated Press, while on a trip to Washington, for coverage. At one point, Ronald, apparently pleased with AP coverage, wrote to Mr. Waller of the AP to thank him, saying, "papers throughout the region have used very generally the amount of material you have sent out on this bill."[9]

In June, Ronald wrote to New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, soon to be chosen the Democratic Presidential nominee, urging him to back the inclusion of domestic allotment ideas into the Democratic platform. Roosevelt wrote Ronald two letters in reply to acknowledge his views, and he promised to pass them along to those drafting the platform. In reporting his Roosevelt correspondence to Wilson, Ronald called it "most significant as to the platform this year, and it certainly establishes a contact which I could follow up on in the event of his election as President. Isn't that a big break?"[10]

At the same time, Wilson met with Roosevelt in early July, his path having been paved by Roosevelt advisor Rexford Tugwell, with Wilson advising Roosevelt on a suitable location for his major farm policy speech--Topeka, Kansas--and also on his ideas for a farm policy. At virtually the same time, Wilson did not neglect contacts with key Congressional Republicans, including Representative Clifford Hope of Kansas and Peter Norbeck of South Dakota.[11]

During that summer of 1932, during which no domestic allotment bill was passed by Congress, Ronald was on the stump as a speaker in behalf of domestic allotment, an example being his speech to the Huron, South Dakota, Rotary Club, prominently covered in the HURONITE. In his editorial praising Ronald's speech, Robert Lusk, in noting Ronald's efforts of time, effort and expense for "educational work on behalf of the plan," added that Ronald was making all his trips at his own expense, and that Ronald thought domestic allotment, "the best proposal that has ever been made in behalf of agriculture."[12]

In late August, Ronald went to Chicago to meet with business leaders to promote domestic allotment, at the same time continuing to direct an increasingly expanding publicity campaign. He first used his own newspaper's news and editorial treatments, then filed his pieces through the Associated Press for coverage by other papers like the MINNEAPOLIS TRIBUNE.[13]

Ronald also wrote a number of articles for national publications, detailing some of these efforts in his ongoing correspondence with Wilson. Ronald described an article he and Senator Norbeck were preparing for the FARM JOURNAL (which appeared under Norbeck's byline, written by Ronald, in the October 1932 issue), and he mentioned other pieces for the

NEBRASKA FARMER, THE MICHIGAN FARMER, and the PRAIRIE FARMER. Ronald wrote in one of his letters to Wilson, "Publication of a story on the plan in a few farm papers will automatically gain the interest of others and make more likely their use of similar articles." Ronald also told Wilson that he had printed up his own editorials on domestic allotment into a booklet, which was apparently widely requested. The Mitchell editor also got pieces published in both CAPPER'S FARMER and the DAKOTA FARMER--all obviously part of his carefully crafted publicity campaign.[14]

All the while the publicity campaign was underway, Ronald continued his feverish pace of letter writing to other players in the domestic allotment effort, including Henry Wallace in Des Moines.

All of this activity by Ronald and Wilson and the others was only a prelude to the major accomplishment of the summer and fall--gaining the support, albeit indirectly stated, from Franklin D. Roosevelt. Wilson submitted a lengthy memo to the Roosevelt camp, which became the basis for Roosevelt's September farm policy speech in Topeka. (It is both significant and curious that it was the Democrats with whom the Domestic Allotment Committee made the greatest inroads, given that most of the Committee's members, including Wilson and Ronald, were Republicans.)[15]

Ronald's efforts did not go unappreciated by Wilson, the head of this unofficial "agricultural brain trust." Wilson wrote to Ronald, "It has really been an inspiration to me to read your letters--I think I would know a Ronald letter if I were to see it in China. They would be characterized by their energy, determination and clear forceful expression." Wilson added, "I want to compliment you on the splendid publicity you have carried out. It is most excellent."[16]

Roosevelt's much-anticipated farm policy speech was given on September 12, listing, in very general terms, six points necessary for a good farm policy. The speech was deliberately vague, not naming "domestic allotment," so as to "win Midwest support without waking up Eastern busness interests who were not sympathetic to such a plan."[17]

Not surprisingly, Ronald gave the Topeka speech prominent coverage in his REPUBLICAN, editorializing that Roosevelt's plan was indeed the domestic allotment approach. The very day of the Roosevelt speech, Ronald wrote to Wilson in Montana to report on "the celebration" in his newspaper's office and to praise Wilson for his "wonderfully done work with Governor Roosevelt to bring this result."[18]

There was an uncertain path to the November election, with the Domestic Allotment Committee "soft-pedaling" its very direct connection to Roosevelt, for political reasons. The Committee members even worried how solid Roosevelt's support was of their plan and at times even grew irritated with one another, Wilson at one point asking Ronald to tone down some of his editorial comments.[19]

On the whole, Wilson did deeply appreciate the publicity efforts of the sometimes too-blunt and undiplomatic Ronald, and Ronald continued to acknowledge Wilson's "splendid work," especially with farm organizations and cooperatives. However, in some of his letters to others involved in the efforts for domestic allotment, Wilson wrote candidly of Ronald's being "an agressive chap who gets by well with some people but unfortunately antagonizes others.[20]

As the 1932 political campaign neared its expected conclusion, Ronald continued his newspaper's vigorous editorial criticism of Hoover Administration farm policies and support of Franklin D. Roosevelt's views, seeing in Roosevelt, "a cheering ray of hope, the first signs of the dawning of a new day for agriculture." Ronald found Hoover's farm policy speech at Des Moines, "a painful disappointment," saying that it offered farmers nothing.[21]

Given this background, Ronald's editorial endorsement of Roosevelt, his first editorial departure from the Republican party, was hardly surprising. On October 29, Ronald endorsed Roosevelt for President and South Dakota's maverick progressive Republican Peter Norbeck for re-election to the United States Senate. Obviously anticipating that readers might puzzle both at this split endorsement and at his support of a Democrat for President, Ronald wrote that both men were "Progressive" and believe "that the wealth created in this nation should be divided as fairly as possible so as to prevent depressions. . . .It [the paper] will continue to support Progressives in politics, regardless of party."[22]

Both Roosevelt and Norbeck carried South Dakota in the nationwide-wide Roosevelt sweep, Roosevelt with an 84,000 vote margin and Norbeck by 26,000 votes.[23]

Roosevelt and Ronald exchanged letters at campaign's end, Roosevelt thanking Ronald for "the great energy and intelligence you have been bringing to bear on this question," and Ronald congratulating Roosevelt on his expected election and speaking of the difficulties in getting farm organizations to agree on an agricultural policy. "It is virtually impossible to bring these leaders into agreement," Ronald wrote, adding, "The farmer is an incorigible individualist and this is reflected in the farm organizations."[24]

One cannot help but be impressed with the tremendous amounts of time, talent and personal financial resources expended by people like Wilson and Ronald in behalf of domestic allotment. Ronald, fortunately, was free to work because his son Malcolm was by this time actively involved in the day-to-day operations of the Mitchell newspaper.

Even though the Domestic Allotment Committee members must have been proud of their major accomplishment in winning the support of Franklin D. Roosevelt to their position, it would still be a long path from the November election to the final enactment of the Triple A farm bill in May 1933. Discouragement and pessimism again permeated the air, first in the "Lame Duck" session of the old Congress in December 1932, and when the new Congress met in February 1933, with the inauguration of Roosevelt not until March 4. Efforts to pass a domestic allotment bill in either of these sessions failed.

Almost more important was the selection of the Secretary of Agriculture, with both Wilson and Ronald lobbying for the appointment of Henry A. Wallace of Iowa, with whom they had worked since the preceeding April in the domestic allotment cause.[25]

Wallace was, indeed, chosen Secretary during this interim, and Ronald continued his vigorous nationwide publicity efforts on behalf of domestic allotment. He wrote articles for both CURRENT HISTORY and CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST. But perhaps the greatest testimony to Ronald's efforts at publicity was a February 1933 staff-written article in FORTUNE, which stated, "Like technocracy, Domestic Allotment has rocketed in the space of a few months from an esoteric theory to the status of front page news." In the article, not wholly sympathetic to the then-pending Roosevelt farm policy suggestions, there was an interview with Ronald, outlining his reasons for support of domestic allotment, as well as interviews with eleven other key persons in farm policy matters. Ronald had started working with FORTUNE editor Dwight MacDonald in December, at one point sending him copies of his booklet of REPUBLICAN editorials, "A Sound Solution to the Farm Problem," along with his interview statement for the February article.[26]

The FORTUNE article stands as testimony to the overall effectiveness of Ronald's publicity, those efforts having helped to bring the domestic allotment concept not only to public consciousnes, but to the continuing attention of political, farm, and business leaders.

Ronald's publicity efforts also included his giving speeches on domestic allotment beyond South Dakota including appearances in Omaha at a Chamber of Commerce meeting and at the Nebraska Bankers Association. Late in 1932, Ronald reported to Wilson that EDITORIAL RESERCH REPORTS would publish a special issue on the farm problem, and he also referred to negotiations with Henry Luce of TIME magazine for favorable publicity there. Ronald also apparently continued his earlier strategy of news releases to the Associated Press, with his own REPUBLICAN in mid-February 1933 carrying an AP story with a Houston, Texas, dateline, reporting that Ronald's idea to have states administer the domestic allotment plan was being considered by the United States Senate--a story obviously generated by a Ronald press release.[27]

In this somewhat discouraging time between the election and the beginning of Roosevelt's Presidential term, in a situation at one point called "complicated and difficult," by Wilson in a letter to Ronald, Wilson did achieve a major coup in helping to negotiate agreement among the contentious farm organization leaders to support domestic allotment. The truly remarkable nature of the unanimous farm organization vote for domestic allotment can be ascertained from the February 1933 FORTUNE magazine article. The magazine termed the gathering, "the most representative group of farm leaders ever assembled in the United States which behind closed doors conferred long and earnestly with Henry Morgenthau, Jr., publisher of the AMERICAN AGRICULTURALIST and FDR's right hand man for farm matters. When the doors were unlocked, a political miracle had come to pass: the various farm organizations had come to an agreement. They would unite in support of Domestic Allotment."[28]

In January and February 1933, Ronald spent time in Washington, while Wilson stayed in Montana. Ronald testified in support of domestic allotment before the Senate Agriculture Committee, of which Norbeck was a member, in late January, and was asked by the Committee to draft a bill for its consideration. Always staying in touch wth both Wilson and Wallace, and meeting with Rexford Tugwell of the incoming Roosevelt Administration in New York, Ronald coordinated his drafting of a bill with a press release explaining what he was doing. But despite Ronald's best efforts with the Ag Committee, the committee's efforts seemed diffused, with Norbeck at one point wiring Ronald that attendance at committee sessions was dropping off and that members seemed confused about the bill.[29]

At last, Roosevelt was inaugurated, delivering an address, which in the words of a Ronald editorial, "proved him not only a President, but more important, a leader." The new administration almost immediately affirmed its commitment to agricultural policy reform by having new Agriculture Secretary Wallace call the first

National Farm Conference in Washington, DC, March 9 and 10, coinciding with the start of the special "hundred days" session of Congress. Ronald was the only non-farmer participant in that and the subsequent three National Farm Conferences.[30]

(Ronald was also later to claim that at this time of the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration, Wallace, just before taking office as Agriculture Secretary, had asked him to "agree to accept appointment as administrator of any act that might be passed by Congress to provide better prices for farmers." In the draft copy of his 1940s article about farm policy, Ronald quoted himself as telling Wallace, "I did not believe one could publish an independent daily paper and at the same time hold public office, and that I did not wish to dispose of my paper." Admitting his interest in the offer, Ronald said he was "compelled to decline." There is, however, no reference to this supposed offer in either the Wilson or Wallace Papers. It seems likely that the offer, if indeed it was made, was with the expectation that it would be declined, and most probably occurred at a meeting that Wallace and Ronald had in Des Moines that winter.)[31]

The early March 1933 National Farm Conference, called by Henry Wallace, brought together 40 farm leaders, including representatives of the three major groups--the Farm Bureau (long friendly to domestic allotment), the Grange, and even the Farmers Union, whose leader John Simpson had been hostile to domestic allotment developments, despite his courting by such figures as

Ronald and Wilson. The Union was represented at the Farm Conference by a Kansas Republican Congressman.

The New Deal strategy was clear--first to get the farm organizations to agree on a plan, and then, with this united front, present the plan to Congress. As Wallace told the group, "once you agree on a plan, the battle for relief is half won--and, if necessary you should be locked in conference rooms until you agree."[32]

Ronald found himself selected as chair of a five-member committee to meet with President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace to offer several suggested plans of relief and to "seek guidance from the President on the type he considers most workable."[33] One can speculate that Ronald's selection as chairman was due to his being the only non-farm group participant in the National Conference, as well as to his being a skillful writer--all of which game him clout to pull together diverse farm organization viewpoints.

It would not be until May 12, 1933, that the Agricultural Adjustment Act, embodying the domestic allotment approach, was signed by President Roosevelt. In the words of Richard Kirkendall, Congress had "resisted the desire for quick action."[34]

One of the most interesting issues of the Mitchell EVENING REPUBLICAN was that of May 11, 1933, which not only told of passage of the farm bill, but in an article by Malcolm Ronald, detailed for the first time to the newspaper's readers, the efforts of his father on behalf of the farm legislation. But most interesting is a bylined piece by the senior Ronald, telling how former President Hoover had almost endorsed domestic allotment during the campaign. According to Ronald, after Roosevelt's Topeka speech in which he had not actually used the phrase, "domestic allotment," even though that was what he was endorsing, Hoover had been urged by some of his advisors to upstage Roosevelt and endorse the plan by name in his farm policy speech. After checking with legal advisors, Hoover had supposedly written the plank into his speech.

At Chicago, however, the Hoover campaign was joined by ex-Congressman Sydney Anderson of Minnesota, by that time working for General Mills, and a large GOP contributor. By the time Hooever reached Des Moines to give the speech, Ronald wrote, the domestic allotment reference had disappeared, and, in fact, Hoover condemned all such proposals as "patent medicine." Ronald went on to claim that he had "physical evidence" of the deletion of domestic allotment from the Hoover speech, a claim corroborated in a letter Ronald had written to Wilson in February 1933.[35]

One can only speculate what the effect might have been had Hoover endorsed domestic allotment by name--it was a Democratic year anyhow--but the story of how close he may have come to attempting to upstage Roosevelt provides an exciting footnote to history.

An editor from the small town of Mitchell, South Dakota, could take some justifiable pride for having played a significant role in such a period of agricultural policy innovation and accomplishment. Indeed, the newspaper did exploit promotional opportunities, running an in-house advertisement displaying the key features of the new farm bill, and news stories proclaiming Ronald's coverage of the National Farm Conference. The paper promised "authentic and advance inside information" on the new farm bill as its enactment got underway.[36]

Less than a year after the Triple A became law, Ronald changed his newspaper's name from REPUBLICAN to REPUBLIC, literally sawing the "an" off the nameplate, and thereby acknowledging what he had been doing for years with his policy of editorial independence from the Republican Party and movement to more progressive positions. In a front page editorial explaining the name change, Ronald wrote, "Inasmuch as the paper has been strictly independent in politics. . ., the name EVENING REPUBLICAN was a misnomer. . . .It [the paper] will continue to take advantage of every opportunity to do more for its readers not only in the way of providing a newspaper for them, but also by championing any and all worthy proposals for a better and more prosperous South Dakota.[37]

There are interesting journalistic, public relations and even ethical issues raised in this story of the close involvement of a newspaper editor/publisher in not only promoting, but helping to shape major national farm legislation. Ronald consistently and proudly called himself an independent editor with an independent newspaper. However, if by "independent," one means a detachment from political processes, then Ronald was clearly not independent in that sense. One must note that political involvement at high and inner levels of decision making is hardly unheard of for newspaper publishers and editors, and even journalists of lower rank, either in the past or present.

Moreover, some might criticize Ronald for not sharing all his behind-the-scenes involvement with his readers, at least at the time the events were happening. In the case of the 1932-33 domestic allotment struggle, most of the story finally did become public once the Triple A bill was signed by President Roosevelt. But one still might make the case that Ronald was not accountable to his readers in the same way that newspapers and journalists in general demand that government officials be accountable to the press.

The other side of the argument is that in order for the domestic allotment concept to evolve into law, it was necessary at many points for the negotiations to be private, or else jeopardize their ultimate success. This holds true for much of public policy formulation as well as for diplomatic negotiations between countries.

One can also raise questions about Ronald's publicity efforts on behalf of domestic allotment. His news releases did indeed advocate a particular viewpoint and were not in all instances examples of a truly balanced reporting job. Again, Ronald was hardly the first editor to be responsible for a publicity campaign, be it for a relatively modest local project or a national issue.

In Ronald's case, his unshakable belief that the well being of agriculture was key to his state's and nation's prosperity was the driving force behind his efforts. At times his positions made him stubborn, as some of his fellow domestic allotment advocates knew only too well. And Ronald clearly was not one given to great introspection, once he had set his course. And there is no indication in the vast body of letters, news stories, and editorials available that he felt he had compromised his role as an independent editor by becoming so involved in advocacy, promotion and forumlation of a public policy. He would, however, have drawn the line at the acceptance of a government job to administer that policy; he said that he had turned down such an offer because it was incompatible with his role as an independent newspaper editor.

One could also call Ronald an independent editor in the sense that his editorials never were solely a mouthpiece for one party or the other. It was not at all uncommon for him to criticze politicians of both major parties, or in an election year, to offer split endorsements, as he did in 1932. There would be similar split endorsements in later years as well.

In highly Republican South Dakota, which in the years Ronald was running the Mitchell newspaper, also had a predominantly

Republican press, Ronald's independence was a matter of note by politicians and the public alike.

Finally, it is relevant to present some of the assessments offered by historians, economists and agricultural leaders about this outspoken editor. South Dakota historian Herbert Schell noted Ronald's essentially maverick qualities in saying, "He was a controversial figure and regular Republicans had no use for him. To them, he was a radical, a pink. . . ."[38]

Agricultural economist, the late Elmer Starch, who worked with M.L. Wilson in the Department of Agirculture in Washington, wrote that Wilson saw in Ronald, "a very intense man, very intelligent and practical. He knew news, publicity, and politics, and he realized how desperately his area was hurting."[39]

Sherman Johnson, who headed the Agricultural Economics Department at the then-South Dakota State College, and later served in the United States Department of Agriculture, said, "I would say that Ronald was an influential supporter of the New Deal agricultural program from its early stages. He was a courageous and dynamic person, and a tower of strength in South Dakota."[40]

Finally, Alfred Barnes, the first Triple A chairman in South Dakota, was rich in his praises at the time of Ronald's death in April 1951. Barnes wrote that "few men have influenced the thinking and shaped the lives of our generation so much as did the late editor." Barnes called Ronald, "the living symbol of the best of the Dakotas," and added that he "remains a living spirit of the farm people."[1]

A small-town South Dakota editor indeed played a key role in promoting and shaping New Deal farm legislation, especially in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration. This prairie editor deserves to be remembered as a key exponent of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933.

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35. Republican, 11 May 1933, and Ronald to Wilson, 25 February 1933 (Wilson Papers).

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37. Daily Republic, 19 March 1934.

38. Herbert S. Schell, letter to author, 3 November 1964.

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OVER

William H. Mason:
How a Journalist's Murder Influenced Media Coverage

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submitted to the
American Journalism Historians Association
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William H. Mason:
How a Journalist's Murder Influenced Media Coverage

Until 1948 when the votes from Ballot Box 13 in Jim Wells County, Texas, gave Lyndon Johnson a U. S. Senate seat, the news media paid little attention to the political empire of "The Duke of Duval" in South Texas. George B. Parr saw to it that only his friends were elected to office so that he controlled the sheriff, the prosecutor and the judge and could decide how the tax money was spent without protest or fear of legal action against him.[1]

Johnson's election by 87 votes from the amended returns of that ballot box and the death of crusading newspaper and radio newsman, William H. (Bill) Mason, in Alice, Texas, in 1949 helped focus state and national attention on the political machine in South Texas, eventually paving the way for a reporter working for a small Texas newspaper to win a Pulitzer Prize for her coverage of the downfall of Parr's empire.

Despite his martyr's death, Mason is not mentioned in any major journalism history textbooks. His death is mentioned briefly in books describing Lyndon Johnson's first election to the U. S. Senate. Robert Caro devoted one line to Mason's death in *Means of Ascent.*[2] Dudley Lynch has a short chapter about Mason's broadcasts in *The Duke of Duval*[3] and Mary Kahl discusses Mason briefly in *Ballot Box 13.*[4]

Mason was killed on a street in Alice, Texas, by a deputy sheriff in broad daylight as a witness watched. Mason was working as a radio commentator for Alice station KBKI at the time. The deputy silenced Mason to keep him from revealing details about corruption in local government, especially details related to this particular deputy.

Earlier Mason had worked for newspapers from coast to coast including the *New York Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. He had also successfully directed the political campaign of President Miguel Aleman of Mexico in 1946. Mason moved to Alice, Texas, where he became editor of the *Alice Echo* a few weeks before the controversial Texas Democratic primary election that eventually sent Lyndon Johnson to the U. S. Senate.

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[1] Robert A. Caro. *Means of Ascent* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), pp. 184-189.
[2] Ibid., p. 187.
[3] Dudley Lynch, *The Duke of Duval*.(Waco: Texian Press, 1976), pp. 60 - 64.
[4] Mary Kahl, *Ballot Box 13.* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1983), p. 242.

While Mason's name is not recognized today, when he was killed his death made page-one headlines in newspapers nationwide. The purpose of this paper is to briefly describe Mason's journalistic career and the impact his death made on the news coverage of the Parr political machine in South Texas. Mason's columns in the *Alice Echo* from July - December 1948, newspaper accounts of his death and of the trial of his killer and interviews with journalists and others who knew Mason in the 1940s provide much of the information for this study.

The Land of Parr

George B. Parr was probably the best known of the many political bosses in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas stretching south and west from San Antonio to the Mexican border. George, a Spanish-speaking Anglo, was actually the second "Duke of Duval," taking the reigns from his father, Archer Parr, who had controlled Duval County since 1912. George held in his grip a powerful political machine that could "deliver" the Democratic vote from several South Texas counties including Duval, Brooks and Jim Hogg counties and Jim Wells County until after World War II. He also had influence in Zapata, Webb and Starr counties through his alliances with other bosses. By 1948 when Mason arrived, a new party contested Parr candidates in 12 of the 13 precincts of Jim Wells County.[5]

Corpus Christi, Laredo and Brownsville were the only cities of any size in this area. The vast interior, referred to locally as "brush country," was sparsely populated. Most of the inhabitants were Mexican immigrants who spoke little or no English, and only a few could read and write. The immigrants had little knowledge of how the political system worked in the U. S. The political bosses bought their votes in various ways ranging from cash to intimidation.[6]

Boss Parr ruled with an iron fist. James M. Rowe, a reporter for the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times* who covered that area of South Texas longest, said the average person could not begin to imagine what it was like to oppose Parr in the area he controlled.[7] For example, Parr was so angry with the American Legion's attempt to improve Duval County's literacy rate that he abolished Duval County's veterans training program.[8]

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[5] Caro, p. 181-187.
[6] Ibid., p. 182.

> A word from him was sufficient to get a man fired from his job or denied welfare payments . . Merchants who opposed him faced the sudden loss of most of their trade.[9]

In addition, there had been numerous murders in the "Land of Parr" although most of them had not occurred in such an openly defiant way as Mason's murder. A Duval County doctor told Rowe he had counted 103 suspicious deaths.[10]

Alice, the Jim Wells County seat, was 10 miles from San Diego, the Duval County seat. Two weekly newspapers had operated in Alice since 1913 when the *Alice News* began competing with the *Alice Echo* which was established in 1894. What probably seemed like an information explosion occurred in Alice in 1947. In May Alice's first radio station, KBKI, went on the air. In November the *Corpus Christi Caller* assigned a reporter, Jim Rowe, to cover that area on a regular basis for the first time and in December the *Alice Echo* went from a weekly to a daily newspaper. Both the *News* and KBKI were owned by Parr supporters.

Even though there were two competing newspapers in Alice, both of them, as previous research studies have suggested about the community press, served more to protect the community from controversy than to air points of disagreement.[11] Thus, Mason's 1949 radio program, which aired the community's problems in a format that even those who spoke but could not read English understood, was a shock to many area listeners.

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[7] James M. Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendergast: George B. Parr--Second Duke of Duval" (unpublished manuscript) LBJ Library, as quoted in Caro, p. 185.

[8] Lynch, p. 73.

[9] Rowe, p. 185.

[10] Ibid., as quoted in Caro, p. 474.

[11] Clarine N. Olien, George A. Donohue, and Phillip Tichenor, "The Community Editor's Power and the Reporting of Conflict," *Journalism Quarterly*, Summer 1968, pp. 242-251.

The area Rowe covered included Jim Wells and Duval Counties. Rowe said that until that time no daily paper had covered those counties on a regular basis.[12]

In fact, the news media had such little interest in South Texas that Rowe said when he called the Associated Press in Dallas the night of Aug. 28, 1948, to report the returns from Jim Wells County, including those in the now infamous Box 13, the AP wasn't interested. They had more important returns to worry about that night, and they said they'd get the Jim Wells County totals later.[13] Six days later, the Jim Wells County Executive Committee reported Johnson having 200 more votes than were officially reported the night of the election.[14]

This previous lack of media interest in Jim Wells and Duval counties was a factor which helped create the atmosphere leading to Mason's death. "Never before had the customs of that country been so boldly spotlighted," Houston reporter Jim Carroll wrote.[15]

Biographical Information

Mason was born in Duluth, Minn., in 1897, and died in Alice, Texas, July 29, 1949. Carroll compared Mason's death in Alice to Joe DiMaggio breaking a leg in a sandlot baseball game in Oklahoma. According to Carroll, Mason would have been more at home playing poker at the National Press Club in Washington, D. C., where he often won or lost thousands of dollars in a single night. Carroll said Mason, who could tell side-splitting "shady stories" in Swedish dialect, was the most talented man he ever knew who was not on the stage.[16]

Mason enlisted in the Army soon after his 1916 high school graduation from Minneapolis' North High School where he played football, baseball and basketball.[17] He served with the 135th Infantry overseas during World War I rising to the rank of sergeant.

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[12] James Rowe, "LBJ's path to power began in Alice," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, March 3, 1990, p. 10.

[13] Personal interview with James Rowe, October, 1985.

[14] Rowe, "Path to Power."

[15] Jim Carroll, "Bill Mason's Killing Arouses 'Parr Empire'," *Houston Press*, July 30, 1949, p. 2.

[16] Ibid.

He began his career as a reporter at the *Minneapolis Journal* in December 1919. He worked there as a police reporter and briefly as the city editor.[18] Beginning in 1923 and for at least 10 years, Mason worked as a journalist in Oakland and San Francisco, Calif.[19] Described after his death as a crusading newsman, Mason had worked at the Hearst-owned *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* when Fremont Older, known as a top crusader, was the editor.

Mason was further indoctrinated into the Hearst school of journalism working at the *San Francisco Examiner* and *Oakland Post Enquirer*. He had also worked for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Oakland Times*. [20]

Mason's obituary in the *San Francisco Chronicle* described him as a "leading light of the school of journalism prevalent in the late 1920s and early 30s here and in Oakland," and cited him as "an expert at taking up where the police left off." It credited him with "effective sleuthing" in several murder cases in the area.[21] However, the *Chronicle* also said Mason was remembered as a city editor who once fired a staff member by throwing him through a plate glass window." A California newswoman, Mary Shaw, who worked under Mason at the *Examiner* said he was the "worst type of city editor." Shaw did not elaborate except to indicate Mason had a drinking problem.[22]

In his 1948 columns in the *Alice Echo* , Mason mentioned helping former U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren clean up Alameda County when Warren was the district attorney there in the 1920s.[23] The *San Francisco Chronicle* gave Mason credit for doing the "spade work which led Earl Warren. . . to smash an Oakland paving graft ring."[24]

Warren, however, in his memoirs, did not remember Mason fondly. Warren wrote that he had told reporters off the record all he knew about one particular case. Warren did not say whether Mason was one of the journalists present at that briefing; but, according to Warren, the next year Mason was named editor of the *San Francisco Examiner's* Oakland edition. "On coming to Oakland, he supported my prospective opponent, Preston L. Higgins, whose campaign for D. A. he launched in an edition that revealed everything I had privately told the publishers. . . He coupled this with the announcement that Mr. Higgins was the champion of full disclosure in the case and would oppose me at the coming election." [25]

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[17] Mason obituary, *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, July 30, 1949, p. 1, 8.

[18] Mason obituary, *Minneaspolis Star*, July 30, 1949, p. 9.

[19] "Bill Mason Pays with His Life To Close Up Texas Hall of Sin," *Editor and Publisher*, Aug. 6, 1949, p. 6.

[20] *San Francisco Examiner*, July 31, 1949, p. 23.

[21] *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 30, 1949, p. 3.

[22] Interview with Mary Shaw,"Mary Shaw: Perspectives of a Newspaperwoman," in the Earl Warren Oral History Project, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, p. 11.

[23] Bill Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Nov. 3, 1948, p. 4.

[24] *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 3.

Warren gave an unnamed journalist credit for helping him break up the paving-graft ring in two instances. Warren said a reporter got the commissioner who was later indicted to ask for a grand jury hearing. Warren himself went out on a limb during the hearing. The commissioner and others implicated refused to testify. In order to let the public know what was going on, Warren gave the press a daily transcript of the grand jury testimony. He argued that the law prohibited the jury but not the district attorney from revealing grand jury testimony.[26]

Later Warren wrote that a journalist helped him find a witness needed to testify in the paving scandal. Oscar J. Jahnsen, an inspector in Warren's office, confirmed that helpful journalist was Mason.[27] In exchange for getting the witness, Warren had to promise to let two reporters be with the police when the man was picked up.[28]

Mason said he wrote daily stories related to the paving scandal that helped send 23 officials, including the sheriff and a city commissioner, to San Quentin.[29]

After Mason left San Francisco, he spent several years in Detroit where he worked for D.P. Brothers Ad Agency handling the General Motors account. He shifted to a Chicago advertising firm and then went back to Detroit to work for the Detroit Bureau of the *New York Times.*[30]

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[25] Earl Warren, *The Memoirs of Chief Justice Earl Warren.* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), pp. 84-85.

[26] Ibid., p. 88.

[27] Interview with Oscar J. Jahnsen, "Enforcing the Law Against Gambling, Bootlegging, Graft, Fraud and Subversion, 1922-1942, "pp. 82-92, in The Earl Warren Oral History Project, The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.

[28] Warren, pp. 97-98.

[29] Mason, *Alice Echo,* Nov. 3, 1948, p. 4.

[30] *Alice Echo,* July 31, 1949, p. 1.

A friend of Mason's in Dallas tells of a different kind of investigative story that Mason did, probably while he was working for the *New York Times.* George Haddaway, publisher of an aviation magazine in Dallas, said he first met Mason when Mason was working in Detroit and was interested in stories about aviation. Haddaway helped Mason develop a story revealing that pay toilets brought in more revenue to Dallas's Love Field Airport than Braniff airlines. Mason loved that story and filed it, Haddaway said. "It was a big hit!"[31]

In 1941 Mason became public relations director for General Tire and Rubber Co. in Akron, Ohio, where he was paid $35,000 a year and had an unlimited expense account. In 1944 when the company opened a $50 million synthetic rubber plant in Baytown, Texas, and a $15 million tire factory in Waco, Texas, Mason conceived and carried out a massive "Texas Goes to War" public relations campaign. About 40 newsmen, many of them based in Washington, D. C., including United Press Washington Bureau Chief Lyle Wilson, participated in the two-week tour which included stops at U. S. Steel in Dallas, Humble Oil and Refining in Houston, Dow Chemical Co. in Freeport, U. S. Army facilities in San Antonio and the U. S. Navy base in Corpus Christi. Mason persuaded high-level military officials in Washington, D. C., to provide planes to fly the newsmen to Galveston.[32]

Soon after the tour Mason went to Mexico, probably on an assignment from General Tire.[33] While there he started his own public relations bureau and handled Mexican President Aleman's successful campaign for election. Little is known about Mason's time in Mexico except that after the victory, he had a disagreement with some Aleman supporters and fled Mexico fast and broke. Mason told Carroll he was embarrassed over the Mexican debacle and stopped at the first job in Texas at the copy desk of the *San Antonio Light* because he liked to eat. Carroll surmised that Mason didn't want to face the teasing that would await him in Washington and New York from being forced to flee after having made a *presidente* .[34] Mason took over as managing editor of the *Alice Echo* in July 1948. The *Echo* had a circulation of about 5,000 and had moved from being a weekly to a daily newspaper the year before.

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[31] Telephone interview with George Haddaway, Oct. 21, 1991.

[32] Jim Carroll, "Mason's 'Texas in the War' Gave State Boost," *Houston Press*, July 30, 1949, p. 2.

[33] *Dallas Morning News*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.

[34] Carroll, "Texas in the War."

The only explanation Mason gave for his move from San Antonio to Alice was that he liked new, undeveloped country, that he and his wife thought life would be slower there and that perhaps he could work on a book.[35] V. D. Ringwald, the *Echo* owner and publisher, had a reputation for paying employees very little.[36]

An examination of Mason's page-one stories about Johnson's 1948 election shows the stories were factual and were similar to the coverage the big-city papers gave the events. The *Echo* devoted more space to covering local races in which Parr candidates were being contested for the first time than to the Stevenson-Johnson senate race.

Mason also wrote a daily column during his six-month stint at the *Echo* . He mentioned the Ballot Box 13 episode only twice in his column once writing that the big-city papers were running special stories on the "so-called political machines of South Texas"[37] and another time describing the court room scene in Alice where hearings were being held regarding Ballot Box 13. Parr only laughed when asked if he controlled votes in 18 counties, Mason wrote.[38]

Mason was more interested in how Parr's influence affected local elections than state or national ones. His criticism of local officials and conditions got him into hot water in Alice. This was Mason's first and only small-town journalism experience. He was unaccustomed to a newspaper that avoided reporting conflict. Ringwald, like many of the Duval County businessmen Rowe described, feared loss of business if he bucked Parr too much.[39]

In October 1948, Mason wrote that in the four months he'd been editor of the *Echo*, he had not been able to get any information from the police. "We should change the policemen or police chief or both," he wrote. That column included a "To be continued" tag line, but "Street Scene" did not appear in the next issue.[40] When it did reappear, it did not concern the Alice police force.

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[35] Bill Mason, Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Nov. 23, 1949, p. 4. Also see Carroll, "Texas in the War."

[36] Letter from William C. Barnard, former Chief of Bureau, Associated Press, Dallas, Oct. 8, 1991, to Mary Sparks.

[37] Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Sept. 8, 1948, p. 4.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Gordon Schendel,"Something is Rotten in the State of Texas,"*Colliers*, June 9, 1951, p. 70.

In early November Mason wrote that he'd had many calls wanting him to write about police brutality in Alice. He said he wanted to set the record straight.

"I am agin 'em when they are wrong. I'm for 'em when they are right. I'm agin 'em when they won't give me information."[41]

Mason expressed dismay that the various political factions in Alice would not talk out their problems. "If Alice is going to get anywhere as a thriving city, hatchets must be buried, and we don't mean in anyone's back," he wrote in one column.[42]

Life was not slower for Mason in Alice. Editing a six-day-a week newspaper and writing a daily column was hard work. The *Echo* also had a society editor and occasionally another reporter,[43] but Mason even served as the sports editor during much of his tenure there. He spelled his name backwards, identifying the sports editor as Lib Nosam. Nosam even did the play-by-play at some of the Alice High football games that fall. But the local team did not have an especially good season, and on one occasion after Nosam had said in a sports column that the Coyotes were beaten by a better team, he reported his windows were broken.[44]

In his Nov. 19 "Street Scene" Mason wrote that he'd been told he was a destructive force in Alice and that he had no business criticizing city officials or the police or the football team.

"I will try to be a good boy," he wrote," but I will go right on printing what I think is news."[45]

But there were no more columns on controversial topics. Ringwald, the owner and publisher of the *Echo*, forced Mason to revert to a more neutral editorial policy after pro-Parr sheriff's deputies assaulted Ringwald on the street. "I have a wife and small children," Ringwald explained.[46] Mason's

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[40] Mason, "Street Scene," *Alice Echo*, Oct. 29, 1948, p. 4

[41] Ibid., Nov. 8, 1948, p. 4.

[42] Ibid., Nov. 5, 1948, p.4.

[43] Ibid., Oct. 22, 1948, p. 4.

[44] Ibid., Nov. 15, 1948, p. 4.

[45] Ibid., Nov. 19, 1948, p. 4.

[46] Schendel, p. 70.

"Street Scene" columns became much blander after the middle of November 1948.

On Dec. 8 Mason wrote that he knew his recent columns had been "sub standard" and said he had not been feeling well. "I thought I was going to give birth to an idea, but it didn't happen," he wrote.[47]

Mason wrote that Dec. 23 was his 29th anniversary in the newspaper business. He wrote he had learned to be fair to all, to do good if you could but that you must publish the truth even if it hurts someone.

"If I can't follow that creed, I leave," he wrote. "Last night we learned we could not follow that creed here. We are all right as long as we do not tread on certain toes. We have. We can't print anything which steps on those toes . . . We are leaving."[48]

His last column in the *Echo* appeared on Dec. 24, 1948. Mason wrote that he was moving to San Antonio. [49] But a surprising thing happened. Radio station KBKI in Alice, owned by Parr supporters, hired Mason.

By Jan. 1, 1949, Mason had his own radio program on KBKI. Mason's obituary also listed him as the program director for KBKI.[50] Mason's son Burton, who had worked briefly as a reporter in Waco, had a separate program, "Duval Doins'." [51] Why Parr supporters hired Mason remains a mystery. One explanation is that Parr bought the support of many Mexican-American voters, so he may have thought he could buy Mason too.

"Bill Mason Speaks" was an immediate success on radio. Rowe said that Mason made fun of Parr's friends and foes and that almost everyone in Alice listened to Mason's mid-day broadcasts to see who or what Mason would crusade against next. Advertising was easy to sell for the program.[52]

Parr forces had intinidated Ringwald to keep Mason quite at the *Alice Echo*, but the Parr men who owned KBKI were powerful enough to stand criticism. Mason said whathe wanted on KBKI despite numerous anonymous threats.[53]

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[47] Mason, "Street Scene," *AliceEcho*, Dec. 8, 1948, p. 4.
[48] Ibid., Dec. 23, 1948, p. 4.
[49] Ibid., Dec. 24, 1948, p. 4
[50] *Dallas Morning News*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.
[51] *Alice Echo*, July 31, 1949, p. 1
[52] Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendecast," p. 41.
[53] *Alice Echo*, July 31, 1949, p1

Mason's topics on Alice radio included traffic safety, proper garbage disposal, care of vacant lots and sanitation at meat plants. He also aired much criticism of the sheriff's department. When Mason "spilled innocent blood," he admitted it. He once charged corruption in the construction of a water and sewer line in another town in Duval County. The engineer on the project heard about it and went to Mason to complain. The engineer described Mason as meek and apologetic. Mason said his son had done that reporting and Mason had aired it without checking the facts. Mason apologized on the air to the engineer.[54]

In March 1949, after several broadcasts criticizing the sheriff's office, Jim Wells County Sheriff Hubert Sain and Deputy Charles Brand called Mason out of a bowling alley and gave Mason what he termed a "token beating." Brand pleaded guilty to simple assault and paid a $5 fine. During the scuffle, Mason's pants came off. Mason hung his pants on a pole downtown in a show of defiance and said if anyone wanted to fight him, they should meet him under his pants.[55]

The beating did not deter Mason's crusading. That summer he learned that another deputy, Sam Smithwick, owned the land where a tavern and dance hall, used as a cover for prostitution and gambling, stood. For a week Mason gave details on his radio program charging not only that Smithwick owned the land, but that he was getting a cut from the profits.

The complete text of Mason's last broadcast was printed in the *Houston Press* the day after Mason's death:

> I'm going to take the gloves off today in the prostitute situation and start swinging. . . . I have been told by my friends sometimes that I shouldn't pick on hungry Hubert Sain (sheriff of Jim Wells County). Maybe I shouldn't but a situation exists in Alice which he alone is in position to stamp out.
>
> Any of you can spend an hour on the south side and see the suffering and misery which is being caused by operation of the dance hall girls. Dance hall girls who work, many of them on the property of Sam Smithwick, a deputy of Hubert Sain's. . . . it is the sworn duty of the sheriff to see that the state laws are enforced. But there on Deputy Smithwick's property every night the world's oldest profession is plying its trade, heaping dollars into the pockets of the proprietor of the place.

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[54] Lynch, pp. 60-61.

[55] *San Francisco Examiner*, July 31, 1949, p. 23. Schendel, p. 71, reported that Mason ran his pants up the flag pole at the radio station.

> I charge here today that Sam Smithwick knows what is going on. He is out there all the time at night. I charge that the taxpayers in Jim Wells county are paying wages to a man who is permitting the spreading of vile diseases, [diseases] that are disrupting homes, endangering the lives of children, yet unborn. I charge that hungry Hubert Sain knows about these things.
>
> I charge him with dereliction of duty, malfeasance in office . . . I charge him with permitting it and not lifting a hand to stop it but looking back over his score, what thing has he done besides sending another deputy to tear my pants off and try to scare me out of town. There is only one course open to you people who want a decent town.
>
> Insist that this thing be stopped. You must move concertedly. . . . I say these things knowing that I am stepping on the toes of men who are making fortunes while they foster this cancer, men who will not stop to keep their monetary gain.
>
> I have been threatened over the phone this morning. The word has been passed to me that I'd better shut up. This is my answer. This is my challenge.
>
> As long as a situation like this is permitted to continue, I shall blast it every time a new fact comes to my attention.
>
> Every time I dig up another bit of dirty, filthy practice which is permitted by the sheriff of this county.[56]

About 10:30 the next morning, deputy Smithwick, half Anglo, half Spanish, pulled Mason over on an Alice street and standing three feet from Mason, shot him with a .45 caliber hand gun. Rowe reported that Smithwick had heard a rumor that morning that Mason was going to mention one of his children in connection with the dance hall. In an area where there had been little past media coverage of controversial issues, the rumor mill ran rampant. Mason misjudged the Latin temperament, Rowe wrote.[57]

While Mason's murder has been mentioned when Parr's political activities are discussed, no one has suggested that Parr ordered Smithwick to kill Mason. In fact, one of Parr's friends said Mason's death angered Parr. Parr realized that Mason's murder would make Mason a martyr and would bring closer media scrutiny to South Texas.[58]

Hundreds attended Mason's funeral at the First Presbyterian Church in Alice on Aug. 1, 1949. By some accounts it was the largest ever held in Alice. Some stood outside looking in at the windows.[59] Mason was buried in an Alice cemetery not far from Smithwick's "dance hall" which was closed immediately after Mason's death.

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[56] "What Mason Said In Last Broadcast," *Houston Press*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.
[57] Rowe, "The Mesquite Pendergast," p. 42.
[58] Lynch, p. 61.
[59] *Dallas Morning News*, Aug. 1, 1949, p. 1.

Mason's death ran on the front page of newspapers from coast to coast. The *Echo* ran an editorial headlined "A Courageous Man Dies."

"Mason's life story was one of crusading for one thing or another in the field of business or in the field of ideas," the *Echo* editorial, probably written by the editor Curtis Vinson a former *Dallas Morning News* staffer, said.

"Mason was a vigorous character. There was nothing passive about him. Folks liked him or disliked him," the editorial continued. "But few men unarmed as he was when he was shot down have ever proven invincible against the deadlines of hot lead. Bill as in various other aspects of his life and personality was in that respect also human.

". . . Bill's death came in the line of duty--his duty as he saw it. There can be no finer tribute to any man."[60]

Smithwick turned himself in. Parr might have been able to determine the outcome of the trial had the district judge Lorenz Broeter, a long-time Parr supporter, not developed cancer. By Texas law the judge appointed the jury commissioner that appointed the grand jury. Parr told Broeter whom to appoint as district judge in his place, but Broeter defied Parr and chose his own man for the position, a man who owed no allegiance to Parr.[61]

Years later Luis Salas, the man responsible for certifying the election returns from Ballot Box 13 in 1948, said that Parr told him he could not help Smithwick because Sam had killed an Anglo. Salas, who identified himself as the "right hand of George B. Parr in Jim Wells County" for "ten years of violence, crime and killings due to the ambition of crooked politicians,"[62] told a reporter decades later, "I asked him (Parr) if the victim had been a Mexican could he do something? Parr said he thought he could because an Anglo and a Mexican were two different things. That was enough for me. I was through with Parr from then on." [63]

The new judge moved the trial to Bell County, Texas, on a change of venue. It took six days to seat a jury for the trial in January, 1950. The courtroom overflowed with spectators who often cheered Bell County prosecutor, James Evetts. A gunman fired at Evetts as he put his car in the garage one evening during the height of the trial.[64]

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[60] *Alice Echo*, Aug. 1, 1949, p. 2.
[61] Lynch, p. 63.
[62] Luis Salas, "Box 13," unpublished manuscript, p. 32-33, as quoted in Caro, p. 189.
[63] Kahl, p. 243.

The eyewitness to the murder sealed the guilty verdict. But the truth of Mason's broadcasts about Smithwick was also proven during the trial. Smithwick's lawyers claimed he did not own the liquor license for the tavern, but the state proved he did own the land. A former deputy testified that he had been paid $10 a week to deliver 70 percent of the profits of the tavern to Smithwick. Some young women, including a Smithwick niece, admitted they had met men at the tavern and danced and "dated" them in exchange for money.[65] Friends of Mason's in Alice requested a quote from Evetts charge to the jury be added to Mason's tombstone:

> He died because he had the nerve to tell the truth for a lot of little people.[66]

Smithwick, age 62, was sentenced to life in prison. After staying in prison several months, Smithwick wrote Coke Stevenson, the former governor of Texas, whom Lyndon Johnson defeated for the U. S. Senate in 1948, saying he had information about Ballot Box 13 and asked Stevenson to visit him at the state prison if he was interested. Before Stevenson could get to the prison, however, Smithwick was dead. A towel was attached to the window bars and around his neck. He had slipped off his bed. Some guards and prisoners hinted that Smithwick had been murdered even though it appeared he committed suicide.[67]

News Coverage After Mason's Death

The murder of a journalist by a deputy sheriff in a small Texas town was national news, especially since the journalist had worked for newspapers from coast to coast and since the murder occurred in Alice, the site of Box 13. The *Chicago Tribune* ran a banner headline, "Deputy Kills Air Crusader," across the top of the front page.[68] The *New York Times* ran the story at the bottom of the front page.[69] The *San Francisco Examiner*, the *San Antonio Express News* and the *Minneapolis Tribune* ran Mason's picture and the story on page one. Many other metropolitan newspapers nationwide ran the story of Mason's death and/or his picture.[70]

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[64] *Dallas Morning News*, Jan. 25, 1950, p. l.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Personal interview with Barton Dailey, Alice, Texas, Oct. 6, 1991. The inscription on the tombstone is quoted in Kahl, Caro, Schendel.

[67] Caro, p. 385-386. Kahl, p. 243, said Smithwick's towel was tied to an upper bunk.

Lynch wrote that *The New York Times* allotted space to any controversy that plagued Parr after the 1948 election and Mason's death.[71] Rowe wrote that South Texas had been a lonely beat before Ballot Box 13 and Mason's death. After those events, he said many other reporters joined him.[72] The state and national media kept an eye on politics in South Texas as stronger opposition to Parr developed. *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Life* magazines all mentioned Mason's death in stories about the Parr regime between 1951 and 1954. *Life* pictured Mason's tombstone. *Collier's* included the inscription on Mason's grave marker in its story.[73]

Smithwick's conviction showed Parr opponents and supporters alike that Parr was vulnerable.[74] A strong Parr opposition party did not develop until 1952, but the strength of that party helped V. D. Ringwald, owner and publisher of the *Echo*, regain his nerve and provide more than the "maintenance" function that many small community newspapers provide. In 1952 Ringwald assigned *Echo* reporter Caro Brown to cover two other deaths, one a border patrolman thought to have been killed in a car crash until the undertaker discovered a bullet hole in his head and the other the murder of the young son of a Parr opponent.[75] These stories started Brown on the road to winning the Pulitzer Prize in 1955 for coverage of Duval and Jim Wells County politics and the eventual downfall of George Parr's empire. When Brown called the AP with Jim Wells and Duval county stories, they were interested. In fact, an AP newsman took credit for suggesting Brown be nominated for the Pulitzer.[76]

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[68] *Chicago Tribune*, July 30, 1949, page 1.

[69] "Crusading Air Commentator Slain," *New York Times*, July 30, 1949, p. 1.

[70] This researcher has examined the microfilm of 15 newspapers for July 30, 1949, and found the story of Mason's death in every newspaper.

[71] Lynch, p. 6.

[72] Rowe, *Corpus Christi Caller Times*, p. 10.

[73] *Life*, April 5, 1954, pp. 6-10; Harold H. Martin, "Tyrant in Texas," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 26, 1954, pp. 20-22, 45, 51-53. Schendel 13-15, 68, 70-71.

[74] Lynch, p. 64.

[75] Caro Crawford Brown papers and unpublished notes, unnumbered, Special Collection: Blagg Huey Library, Texas Woman's University, Denton. [hereinafter called Brown papers.]

Mason began the Alice media crusade against local corruption. He introduced the reporting of conflict in the Alice community so that it eventually became less shocking and more acceptable both to the reading and listening public and to publisher, V. D. Ringwald.

State and national media attention after Mason's death was an important factor leading to the eventual collapse of the Parr political machine. Mason's obituary in the *Alice Echo*, where Mason seven months earlier had been told to keep quiet or leave, said Mason "had courage, the courage of his convictions and the mental and physical ability to fight a telling fight."[77] Such a journalist deserves to be remembered in journalism history.

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[76] Interview with Wilbur Martin by Maurine H. Beasley in the Brown papers.
[77] *Alice Echo*, Aug. 1, 1949, p. 2.

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A PAPER FOR THOSE WHO TOIL:
THE CHICAGO LABOR PRESS IN TRANSITION

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In 1919, in the wake of the First World War and the Russian Revolution, the U.S. labor movement experimented with programs for far-reaching social and economic reform--launching industrial organizing efforts, general strikes, and labor parties which successfully contested political power in many parts of the country. The Chicago Federation of Labor was in the forefront of this "progressive" movement within the American Federation of Labor and a key player in labor party efforts both in Illinois and across the country.

This paper examines the interaction between this vision and the Chicago Federation's decision to establish its own newspaper (and, later, radio station) after decades of relying upon independent and commercial publishers to meet the movement's communication needs. *The New Majority* was launched in 1919 to serve both the Cook County Labor Party and the Chicago Federation of Labor as official organ, and was a key part of C.F.L. social and political strategy. Both the labor party effort and *The New*

Majority proved controversial and expensive, however, and the Chicago labor movement eventually retreated to a narrower emphasis upon traditional trade union concerns.

Chicago's labor movement was at the turn of the century far from monolithic. Competing tendencies often coalesced around specific projects but tensions were never far beneath the surface. Efforts to attain unity on the political field were particularly difficult. The labor movement repeatedly experimented with labor tickets, though never with much success. The Trade and Labor Assembly mounted its own legislative ticket in 1882, but was roundly defeated. Socialists, Knights of Labor, and others--including the anarchist-dominated Central Labor Union, its leaders in jail awaiting execution--united behind a United Labor Party ticket in the 1886 and 1887 elections which polled nearly a third of the vote but was defeated by a Democrat-Republican fusion ticket. The ULP ran reasonably strongly in immigrant wards, but even the selection of an Irishman to head the ticket won few English-speaking voters. And the party met with unremitting hostility from the English-language daily press. The Tribune argued that the ULP wanted

> to control the police force so that they can throw bombs with impunity, the fire department so that they can ravage and burn... the machinery of taxation so that they can confiscate property by form of law and throw the revenues of honest enterprise into a common pool for plunder.

The reference to honest enterprise referred, of course, not to the labors of the carpenters and laborers to whom the ULP appealed, but to their employers.[4] Following the defeat many unionists returned to working within the established parties, while anarchists and socialists went their own ways.

Socialists tended to be wary of plans to enter another working-class party in the field, viewing these as a threat to their own electoral efforts. Many union leaders feared labor party efforts would alienate the established political leaders they relied upon for patronage jobs and other favors. But independent labor politics remained very much an issue in the ensuing decades. Chicago unions tried to organize another labor party in 1901, failing when 200 socialists packed the meeting and resolved "that the laborers of Chicago do not need the help of a gang of grafters... to organize a Labor Party for them." "'There will be a warm time in the old town' for any gang of fakirs that tries to start a 'Union Labor Party' in Chicago," the socialist's Workers' Call warned. "These Socialists in the Chicago trade unions know that the man who attempts any such dirty work is ten times as bad a scab as the poor devil who takes the place of a striker, and they will treat him accordingly."* A Union Labor Party was nonetheless organized for the 1903 municipal elections on a platform of public ownership of public utilities, but garnered few votes after Clarence Darrow declined an invitation to head the ticket.*

Nationally, socialists were divided over whether to join labor party efforts. A Labor Party proposal floated in 1909 by New York's labor council won support from many socialist leaders. But party standard-bearer Eugene V. Debs denounced the proposed party and those who supported it, writing one member of the Socialists' national committee:

> Your mixing with the fakirs at Toronto was a blow in the face of the whole Socialist movement.... For alleged revolutionary Leaders to honey around and mix up with such arch-traitors as run the A.F. of L. conventions is absolutely inexcusable... [It] confounds and confuses the rank and file, muddles the situation and makes our already difficult task next to impossible; and it is this very thing that will result in the launching of a union labor party...
>
> Gompers is the deadly enemy of my class and so is Mitchell... Between us there can be nothing but war... and when they launch their Civic-Federationized fake labor party... I will hit it just as hard as I can.[4]

Despite Debs' opposition, the labor party idea gained tentative support in the Chicago Daily Socialist and an endorsement by delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor, although a C.F.L. referendum to launch such a labor party failed.[5]

When the Federation organized its Labor Party in 1918, local socialists were divided over how to respond. Like other labor parties springing up across the country, the Cook County party called for fundamental industrial and political change while avoiding traditional socialist rhetoric. At the Labor Party's first national Convention the majority of its officers, and many of the delegates, were former supporters of the Socialist Party. The platform they adopted was reminiscent of the socialists' "immediate demands."[6] While the CFL officers behind the Cook County Labor Party never supported the Socialist Party, "between 1917 and 1919 they acquired a point of view which was as much socialist as that of... any of the great socialist parties of the world."[7] Many Chicago socialists, including former SP Alderman William Rodriguez, joined the new party figuring that it provided an opportunity to pursue their objectives with the full support and cooperation of the local labor movement.[8]

But most socialists rejected the Labor Party and the Socialist Party continued to mount competing local tickets--often drawing more votes despite the Labor Party's apparently stronger organizational base. Indeed, the Labor Party never ran strongly in Chicago. In 1919 Fitzpatrick got 56,000 votes (8 percent) for mayor at a time when the CFL had more than 300,000 members. He received only 4,760 votes from Cook County in his 1920 Senate bid (drawing some 46,000 votes from the rest of the state), while the Socialists' Gubernatorial candidate polled nearly 40,000 of his 59,000 votes from Cook County.[9]

The Chicago Federation of Labor also acted upon a long-felt need for its own newspaper, recognizing that it could not hope to secure wide-spread support for the new party without its own means of communications. The newspaper the Federation launched in January 1919, The New Majority, was integrally related to the Labor Party effort. The Federation hoped it would offer a solution to the hostile press it had suffered for so many years.

"What You Read is What You Are"

Newspapers mattered, the labor movement believed. "What you read is what you are," The New Majority editorialized, explaining that the steady consumption of capitalist propaganda gradually "chloroforms the mind." A hostile press not only created a favorable climate for the post-war attacks on workers' living standards, it threatened even the class-conscious:

> You may imagine you can read lying propaganda day after day without being influenced by it--but if you do imagine that, you are dead wrong.... The influence of propaganda is cumulative. Little by little, day by day, it seeps in and chloroforms the mind...
>
> If workers have lost anything of value during the last two years, it is because of the bitter, unjust treatment they have received from the daily press, the periodicals controlled by the employers, the engulfing stream of lies that has flowed from the propaganda mills until truth has been fairly drowned.

The only antidote to this insidious process was "the fighting, truth-telling official organ of the Chicago labor movement."[10]

The Chicago Federation of Labor devoted its efforts to developing and sustaining its own labor press (and, ultimately, its own radio station, WCFL) precisely because it could not rely upon the capitalist dailies. A delegate from the pressmen's union argued that "The minds of the workers have been and are being poisoned by the trust press." They "word the news to suit themselves, but we have it within our power to tell the truth." "All of the papers, both their news columns and editorial policy, have been purchased and delivered to strike a blow at labor," Fitzpatrick added. He personally welcomed the press' opposition as a badge of honor, "The insidious thing is that they... try to injure the men and women and children of labor... I don't know where there is a more despicable situation on the face of the earth."[11]

During the 1919 steel strike, Fitzpatrick charged the Daily News with running "fake interviews" to discredit and undermine the strike. Fortunately, "these newspaper stories did not make steel."[12] Fitzpatrick returned to this theme regularly, as when he told CFL delegates that:

> The trust press can not be relied upon for the truth. So long as The New Majority can stand out in the open and speak and defend labor's position, it ought to live--not only as a weekly... it ought to become a daily so that union men can read it in their homes... at the breakfast table.[13]

The New Majority

The first issue of The New Majority appeared January 4, 1919, owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor and serving as official organ for both the CFL and its newly-established Labor Party. The 16-page tabloid proclaimed itself "the organ of the new Labor Party which proposes to operate like the jack-screw--slow but sure... The New Majority will have no advertisers who demand crooked work. It is owned and controlled by labor, and will serve the people."[14]

Chicago's progressive unionists were at the peak of their power in 1919. Chicago unions had expanded their membership during the economic boom times of the war, and won important gains through wartime government arbitration in long-time anti-union strongholds like the city's meatpacking industry.[15] These gains were not the product of union organization alone, Federation leaders knew. The federal government had intervened to force meatpackers to make concessions they might otherwise have refused.

Like the American Federation of Labor, the Chicago Federation had always been deeply concerned with political issues and devoted much of its energies to representing labor's political interests at City Hall and in Springfield. As David Montgomery notes, discussing the A.F.L.,

> The issue... was never whether or not labor should be active politically. Rather, it was to find a mode of political action that would produce the fewest divisions among the rank and file. Labor leaders had to maintain loyalty and solidarity among a membership split three ways: the Federation comprised traditional Republicans and Democrats plus a growing number of independents and socialists.[16]

While the American Federation of Labor ultimately allied itself with the Democratic Party, Chicago Democrats--boss-ridden and closely tied to the city's utility and newspaper interests--did not strike the C.F.L. as plausible allies. City officials had long been in the habit, regardless of whether Democrats or Republicans were at the helm, of dispatching police to break up picketlines. In Chicago's 1922 meatpacking strike, for example, a city judge issued a sweeping injunction ruling that under Illinois law there was no such thing as peaceful picketing.

> Two thousand policemen, many of them mounted on horseback and motorcycle and heavily armed, invaded Packingtown to enforce the judge's order... Captain Russell of the Stockyards Police Station explained the orders... "The patrolmen have been instructed not to shoot unless necessary. They have been advised to use their clubs and fists freely. However, they have also been told that if the occasion should arise for shooting, they must shoot quickly and accurately."[17]

The Labor Party, like the socialists before it, placed great emphasis on its judicial ticket, hoping to rein in this class violence directed against them. And while the Labor Party selected its president, John Fitzpatrick, to run for mayor, it tagged its second-highest official, secretary E.N. Nockels, to run for sheriff.

After several years of a nonpartisan political policy aimed at electing their friends and defeating their enemies, C.F.L.

officials had concluded that they could not rely upon Democrats or Republicans to defend their interests. They hoped that their own political party would enable them to transcend traditional political differences within the Federation and to hold candidates accountable to the labor movement. The new party would be controlled by the labor movement, at least in Cook County (statewide it sought an alliance with small farmers), but would appeal to organized and unorganized workers alike--and indeed to all proponents of social justice and clean government.

The Labor Party drew primarily upon the Chicago Federation for its candidates and resources, but also received support from many members (including former office holders) of the Socialist Party. The socialists were in disarray following the war-era repression and the expulsion/withdrawal of the "communist" factions, who took much of the party's ethnic base with them. Many socialists were looking for a new political vehicle. And the Labor Party was enthusiastically received by many of the Federation's newly-organized members. Packingtown, for example, quickly became the party's strongest political base--giving 20 percent of its vote to its Aldermanic candidate (and president of the Stockyards Labor Council).[18]

The party and The New Majority were closely intertwined. An article in the first issue introduced them this way:

> A new party and a new paper have been called into being by the Chicago Federation of Labor... The new party, the Labor Party... undertook with shouts of enthusiasm to assemble into a new majority the men and women who toil, but who have been scattered helpless minorities in the old parties under the leadership of the confidence men of

big business.

> The New Majority, with the same cheerful determination, attempts in behalf of the Labor Party, and of the workers generally, the task that should be performed by the great newspapers that have betrayed the City of Chicago. Here, as in every other community, the great majority is composed of the men and women who with hand and brain perform the useful work of the world... These are entitled to control public affairs and in order that they may do so they are entitled also to free and fair interchange of information and opinions and to correct and unbiased reports of the news of current events. This service should be performed by the public press, which has no other valid excuse for existence.
>
> Instead of these--the great majority--being permitted to rule in this city and land of the free, government is controlled by a minority--the public utility corporations and other predatory financial interests .... Foremost of the propagandists in the interest of special privilege are the newspapers--subsidized by millions of dollars worth of advertising given them by the food trusts, State street stores, telephone, gas and electric companies and other profiteering and franchise-seeking corporations...
>
> The newspapers color and distort the news of the day, dispense editorials devised in the interest of the powers that rob the workers and otherwise seek to keep the public in ignorance and... confusion.... The special business of The New Majority will be to combat this big business propaganda in the newspapers....
>
> The toilers should have their own newspaper upon which they can rely for the truth about things of interest to workers and in which they can find expression of their point of view--a voice for the new majority... who are now becoming conscious of their power of numbers and who are instinctively withdrawing from their respective political groups and are banding together here as in other countries to seize the reins of political power.
>
> The New Majority and the Labor Party come together, hand in hand. Neither is complete alone. The Republican and Democratic parties have betrayed the people. The Labor Party comes to smite them. The newspapers have been the mouthpieces of the two old parties and their bosses, the money kings. The New Majority arises to defeat them by providing the workers with a mouthpiece and a forum for free discussion.[19]

The paper carried no advertising, explaining that it was through advertising subsidies that "the big interests of the country control the kept press." Even labor papers were vulnerable to advertising's corrupting influence:

> There is a so-called labor paper in Chicago that prostitutes itself for the profitable advertisements of big business. Other labor papers, even some that try to avoid such advertisements, when they accept ads at all find themselves printing advertisements that should not appear in any labor paper.
>
> Even in the case of the American Federationist, official organ of the A.F. of L., appear many ads of concerns that have no interest or sympathy in common with labor. One instance of this kind is the full page ad of Swift & Company in the May number.

And soliciting advertising was an expensive business, the paper argued, citing the American Federationist's annual report to show that receipts from advertisements and subscriptions totalled $99,243.79, while commissions on same cost $60,026.90.[20]

The New Majority had a wide scope, printing international and local news, CFL minutes, Labor Party propaganda, and, in its third issue, the Constitution of the Soviet Republic.[21] The paper typically published 12 to 16 tabloid pages, with a weekly editorial cartoon and an occassional photograph. Page 1 of the June 9 1923 issue carried five local and national labor stories and a report on the CFL's opposition to daylight savings time. Page 2 carried Farmer-Labor Party news, Australian and British labor politics, and a report that the rich ate more than the poor. The third page carried attacks on the railroad and steel industries for their labor policies, an article on home-making as a sweated industry, and several labor shorts. Page 4 was devoted to editorials (on scabs, long hours in the steel industry, and capitalist control of the courts), movie and book reviews and a health column.

Page 5 of that issue carried several short articles on industry profits, convict labor, co-operatives and labor news. Page 6 reported on the Moscow Art Theater, continued a United Mine Workers attack on coal operators, and miscellaneous short items. The seventh and eighth pages were devoted to part six of a serialization of John Dos Passos' novel, "Three Soldiers." Page 9 carried readers' letters and reports from the Union Label League, as well as shorts on the LaFollette presidential campaign, prison reform, and the banking industry. Page 10 carried half a page of labor shorts and advertisements for a chain of lunch rooms and several union labels. Pages 11 and 12 were devoted to the minutes of the Federation's bi-weekly meetings, along with three columns of small advertisements for several unions (announcing their meetings), the Amalgamated bank, cigars, restaurants, an undertaker, natural grocer, a florist and a hall.

The paper's staff box explained the name, in a paragraph that ran each issue until the C.F.L. abandoned the Labor Party effort in 1924:

> Dedicated to the hand and brain workers of the United States who have been scattered hopelessly as minorities in miscellaneous groups, but who, when they start to function unitedly in politics, will form a new majority that will sweep all opposition before it and take over the government to be administered thenceforth by the workers.

The New Majority was edited by Robert Buck, a former labor reporter for the Tribune and Daily News who had served four years as a progressive Republican Alderman representing Chicago's 33rd ward.

Buck was a fierce partisan of the Labor Party and of the Chicago Federation's brand of progressive unionism. Throughout his five-year editorship the paper sought to present all the news, national and international, with a strong labor slant.

In order to get that news, Buck was instrumental in forming the Federated Press--a co-operative news service supported by a variety of socialist and labor newspapers. Both the paper and the wire service were part of a broader vision through which progressive unionists sought to strengthen the labor movement as part of a democratic force which would implement a broad reform agenda and counter-balance the political influence of industry.[22]

A Propaganda Paper

The New Majority was an unabashedly partisan newspaper. When a reader criticized the paper's "intolerant" tone and its habit of representing "opponents of organized labor as all knaves," the editor responded that partisanship was a carefully considered policy. "The New Majority is a propaganda paper, frankly and bluntly so." In a lengthy response, taking up nearly an entire page of the paper, he explained that the labor press was established to counter "the regular channels of news which are... in the hands of the enemies of labor," but insisted that it stuck scrupulously to the facts. The daily press was every bit as one-sided in its coverage--the only difference was that the labor press was honest about its policy, and was therefore surely more valuable even to impartial readers.[23]

Shortly after The New Majority was launched, the CFL adopted a resolution deploring trust press efforts to force it off the newsstands, and urging delegates to refuse to patronize news stands that didn't display the paper's current issue. At the same meeting, New Majority editor Robert Buck noted that the paper lacked the reporters to gather the news itself, "and asked the co-operation of the delegates to request their local unions to send in the news items concerning their various activities."[24] These reports formed the basis for many short news items, and occasionally for longer features developed by the paper's two-person editorial staff. Two months later, CFL Secretary Ed Nockels reported that the Labor Party had gotten 55,000 votes, and the paper 4,336 subscribers. "Even with this small circulation a tremendous amount of good was done," Nockels added, proclaiming himself "well satisfied" with the results of three months work.[25]

That summer delegates expressed alarm at losses of $1,000 monthly, and appointed a committee to build up the circulation--though a proposal to increase the Federation's per capita tax to send the paper to all union members was not acted upon. C.F.L. President John Fitzpatrick insisted the paper was a sound investment:

> We have a duty... to present our matters to the people, and we can't do it through the independently controlled newspapers or the daily newspapers. The only way to do it is through such a publication as The New Majority... If it is going to cost $1,000 a month to speak truthfully and intelligently and in the spirit of the Chicago Federation of Labor the price is not too great.... The question is to get the paper into the hands of the rank and file.[26]

The New Majority and its always-troubled finances remained a regular topic of discussion at CFL meetings for years to come.

The problem was indeed to get the paper into the hands of the membership. When CFL President John Fitzpatrick summed up the movement's success and failures in 1921, he was disappointed to see workers still reading the trust press:

> Another sorry spectacle is to see union men and women fed up with the daily misinformation of the Chicago Tribune or the Daily News... When they lie to him about the news of his world--the labor world--he does not read his own paper--The New Majority.[27]

Lamentably, Fitspatrick continued, the paper was being undermined by clandestine opposition even from some union officers--reflecting the labor movement's deep, but rarely acknowledged, differences.

Socialists, communists (towards the Labor Party's end), and business unionists all opposed the Labor Party--and consequently were reluctant to support The New Majority. Socialists were in direct competition with the Labor Party and The New Majority for votes and subscriptions, as were communists after their efforts to take over the national Labor Party movement were rebuffed.[28]

But it was the conservative business unionists who posed the most serious opposition, if only because they could call upon the national A.F.L. leadership to strengthen their hand. As historian James Barrett notes,

> The progressive leadership and majority of the city's labor federation were challenged by an increasingly vocal conservative faction identified with "patriotic" forces in the postwar years. While the progressives remained firmly in control, incessant conflict within the federation certainly weakened the labor movement...
>
> Chicago labor's factional conflict is reflected in the columns of the New Majority, the federation's official journal, and The Unionist, an opposition paper. The New

> Majority called for recognition of the Soviet government, establishment of a workers' republic in Ireland, and an independent labor government for Chicago. The Unionist attacked the federation's leadership and the New Majority, which it portrayed as part of the "Bolshevist movement in Chicago".[29]

In this campaign, The Unionist could count on support from several large corporations, and from the Chicago Building Trades Council's conservative (and corrupt) leadership. It offered the conservatives their own voice, and helped to undermine support for the Federation's organ.

The New Majority ran a $7,316.81 deficit in 1919, though income increased dramatically in November and the paper ran a modest profit in December.[30] By April 1920, the press run had increased from 5,500 to 17,500 copies, though the deficit was growing once again.[31] And while circulation was up substantially, the paper still reached only a small fraction of the Federation's membership. "The fact is that organized support has not been forthcoming," Buck told CFL delegates in 1921. Circulation Manager L.P. Straube added that there were more than 350,000 members of the Chicago Federation who ought to subscribe. But many locals declined to allow the paper's representatives more than 5 or 10 minutes to appeal for support. Local officers associated with the Republican or Democratic parties in some capacity were particularly reluctant to support the paper.

The only way to build circulation, Straube argued, was for union locals to subscribe for their membership as a whole--organized solicitation of individual subscriptions had proven ineffective, and the paper refused to submit to referenda because the paper's case could not be properly presented in such a way.

> The management of The New Majority is here for a plain showdown on the subject... unless you are willing to demonstrate the solidarity you talk so much about in your meetings it is useless to ever hope to establish a publication than can undo the mischief a lying daily press finds possible of creation through the support accorded it by the trades unionists themselves.[32]

That same year The New Majority reprinted an article from The Illinois Tribune explaining that "The labor press is to the Union movement what big guns are to a modern army." Yet, although virtually every worker takes one or more daily newspapers, only a handful read the labor press.

> I have studied this labor paper proposition carefully, and I am thoroughly convinced that the only way to support a labor paper properly is by making it compulsory for members of organized labor to subscribe.[33]

But while The New Majority's editor and circulation manager argued that the C.F.L. should raise its per capita tax to provide the paper to every member of its affiliated locals, Federation officials were reluctant to do so. Such action would have forced the often-submerged factional conflict into the open, handed a potent weapon to their opposition (who could have appealed for support on a platform of lower dues), and possibly led affiliated unions to disaffiliate. Instead, the C.F.L. relied on voluntary support--whether by affiliated unions or union members--for both the paper and the party. C.F.L. officials went on the stump, speaking at union meetings to encourage them to subscribe for their members.[34] When Painters Local 194, the city's largest (and one of its most radical) union local, renewed its subscriptions for its entire membership, the paper said that "if the unions generally could be induced to follow the example of this and other locals, the labor movement could soon establish a daily."[35] But sufficient support was not forthcoming, and the paper began running paid announcements from labor unions in 1919. In December 1920, the paper began taking advertisements from businesses "not in conflict with organized labor" to help meet continuing deficits.[36]

The New Majority's second anniversary issue carried advertisements from several banks, a stock broker, lunch rooms, a cinema chain, and two taxi companies (among others). The largest advertisement by far was a full page advertisement warning unionists to "Beware the Yellow Peril," placed by striking drivers.[37] The next issue carried a protest from a member of Painters Local 194:

> Fellow Worker: Having received your second anniversary number I am very greatly surprised at your progress... Just two years ago you started as a voluntary champion of the wage worker. Today, your second anniversary, you are the paid champion of the banks to the extent of five pages of advertising for twenty-one banks. It is certainly interesting for us unemployed and compulsory subscribers. Three cheers for the Bankers' Journal and my old radical friend, T.P. Quinn, its advertising agent.

It was signed "Your submissive, compulsory subscriber." The editor responded that the paper was faced with a choice between taking advertising or ceasing publication, as fewer than ten percent of Chicago union members subscribed--less then half the number needed to meet expenses from subscribers. But the paper had not trimmed its sails. "If we do, we expect the labor movement to put us out of business and hope that it will."[38]

But although the paper nearly broke even in 1920, ending the year with a cumulative deficit of $8,042.96, the deficit grew by $3,379.39 the next year.[39] (The deficit, of course, did not fluctuate directly with circulation. As new individual or group subscriptions were sold--generally during concentrated circulation campaigns--income rose for that one quarter. Expenses of filling the subscription, however, continued for the next six to twelve months.)

For a time, the paper was running deficits of nearly $2,000 a month. The New Majority was not the type of paper advertisers would readily support, the editor explained, and so the paper relied primarily upon circulation revenues.[40] Only when the paper began a highly-profitable "Official Labor Union Directory" (stuffed with advertising) was it able to stem the losses. In the first quarter of 1924, even the Directory's $3,561.33 profit enabled The New Majority to report a profit of only $342.05 for the quarter.[41]

Who Shall Govern Chicago?

Even before the New Majority appeared, CFL leaders were calling for a daily labor organ as part of a broader plan to launch a Labor Party. "The issue is clear," President Fitzpatrick and Secretary Nockels wrote. "Shall Chicago be governed by labor-hating plutocrats and politicians, or by representatives of the people?"

> To carry out this work and to expose the Trust Press and the vested interests they represent and to keep labor informed... the Executive Committee will submit a report for the establishment of a daily newspaper to be published in the interests of all the workers.[42]

In 1920, The New Majority proposed organizing a research bureau, and building the paper into a daily to combat the lying kept press.[43] A squib in the January 18 1919 issue promised that the paper "will be made a daily newspaper that will go after the Tribune and News, and let the light in on affairs of Chicago... and the world" as soon as it secured 50,000 paid-in-advance subscribers.[44]

In May 1920, the CFL Executive promised to take the paper daily as soon as circulation reached 75,000.[45] In 1921 the Federation was still looking towards a daily, approving a resolution reading, in part:

> Whereas the capitalist press in Chicago is the most constantly used, the most poisonous and the most effective weapon wielded by the enemies of labor in the so-called "open-shop" fight... daily shooting their venom against labor into the public, misrepresenting and misinterpreting occurrences to which labor is a party; and
>
> Whereas the only way by which this daily dose can be counteracted and the courage and morale of the organized workers be maintained is by a militant, fighting labor press; and
>
> Whereas the Chicago labor movement has such a paper in The New Majority, nevertheless a daily paper is what is necessary for an effective defensive and offensive weapon for labor....
>
> Resolved, that we call upon all unions... to undertake new and increased obligations in support of The New Majority, by subscribing in a body so that those who need the education influence of our paper the most will have it brought to their homes each week.[46]

Chicago labor activists continued to feel the need to expand to daily publication for many years, though they were never able to secure the means to do so. The paper pointed to labor dailies such as the Seattle Union Record as evidence that it could be done.[47] In June 1928, for example, Charles Shylander, of the Swedish Typographical Union, wrote Nockels regarding a proposed Labor Day parade:

> One parade a year is not enough to combat the lies and vilifications of the press of our enemies. What Labor in Chicago needs is a strong daily paper, controlled by the labor unions and supported by them. Until such time Labor will have to be satisfied with the back seat, and be glad even to get that.[48]

By then, however, the Federation's leadership had retreated from its broader social vision to more traditional trade union issues.

In May 1924, the Farmer-Labor Party withdrew its national slate in favor of the LaFollette campaign. That same month, the Chicago Federation of Labor withdrew from its experiment in Labor Partyism, endorsing the AFL's non-partisan stance. The New Majority ceased to be the Farmer-Labor Party's organ and dropped the statement of purpose from its staff box, though the editor continued to give sympathetic coverage to the Labor Party idea and to its remaining (local and state) candidates for the next few weeks, and to denounce Communists for their disruption of Labor Party efforts (efforts which may well have been the final straw in the CFL leadership's growing disillusionment with the Labor Party venture). Editor Robert Buck resigned in response to the change in policy, and was replaced by James Bruck, editor of the Butcher Workman. To symbolize the break, The New Majority became the Federation News on August 16, 1924. The sub-head on the article announcing the new name explained, "Change a Direct Result of Adoption of A.F. of L. Non-Partisan Policy."[49]

With the change, the Federation News adopted a more conservative approach, featuring prominent photographs of labor leaders, official A.F.L. pronouncements, and such fare--though it did retain its membership in the more radical Federated Press news service for several months, running F.P. dispatches on labor struggles across the country and the world. And the paper continued to contrast the labor press to the "propaganda trusts" which racked up enormous profits. "The workers are paying a high price for being fooled into thinking and voting as the bosses want while they allow the labor press to die for lack of funds."[50]

Yet the labor movement remained divided. Many did not share this commitment to an expansive communications policy. The Chicago Federation's predecessor had discontinued an earlier paper, The Record, in 1889 because it could not support itself; the labor movement was either unable or unwilling to cover the deficits. Thirty years later, dissatisfaction with the various privately-issued newspapers which served as official and unofficial organs in the intervening decades led the Federation to once again publish its own organ--and to put substantial resources behind it. But despite CFL President Fitzpatrick's claim that $1,000 a month was a small price to pay, many in the labor movement thought it was a very large price indeed. And others who might have been prepared to subsidize a paper whose policies they supported were not willing to subsidize The New Majority's expansive agenda.

The newspaper deficits served to highlight the deep divisions in the Federation. The Federation's political program could never satisfy every faction, and delegates were reluctant to see C.F.L. funds going to subsidize a newspaper (or a party) diametrically opposed to their own views. The socialists were openly critical--as both the paper and the Party directly attacked their own organization and its organ. Business unionists were quieter in their opposition, but never supported the paper or its agenda. Many in the labor movement continued to withhold their support even after the CFL stepped back from the Labor Party campaign and committed the paper to a narrower focus. In November 1919, a CFL committee reported that only 45 of the Federation's 350 affiliated locals had "taken an interest" in The New Majority.[51]

Five years later, an October 1924 editorial argued that "Labor's reluctant and poor support of the labor press is the source of constant joy of the interests..." The editors boasted that, unlike the "kept press," they had given labor news fair play. Their "headlines were not headlies." New features had been added, every organization was represented in its columns, the paper was a success in every department except its business department.

> Altogether too many of the organized workers, not speaking of the unorganized, unthinkingly hold aloof, either imagining the publication can be financed without the members' aid, or permitting petty grievances to interfere with their better judgement as to the necessary wherewithal to conduct a paper....
> Too many workers either support a private so-called labor paper that solely exists for illegitimate advertising revenue, or do not subscribe to any labor paper at all.[52]

Similarly, in 1921, editor Robert Buck told the Federation that if just one-fourth of the C.F.L. membership subscribed to the paper it could meet its expenses and eliminate the need for advertising.

Many workers did support the paper throughout this period. Several union locals voted for block subscriptions, even assessing themselves for the purpose; others worked to promote the paper to their members. Both The New Majority's columns and John Fitzpatrick's correspondence are replete with examples of rank and file support for the paper and its broader vision. The day the first issue hit the streets, one reader wrote of the great pleasure with which she read it. "And what is it that I like so well? It is the quality of 'hitting straight out from the shoulder,' without mincing words."[53]

Three years later, a member of Electrotypers local 3 deplored the fact that Chicago had only one weekly labor organ "and six daily Mouth-Pieces of Big Business," concluding that the labor press and the union label were "Organized Labor's two most powerful weapons." The same issue in which this letter appeared, however, published another letter complaining that the paper "seem[s] afraid to publish anything that might hurt our social rich," and two others objecting to the serialization of John Dos Passos' novel, Three Soldiers, on the grounds that it was not fit for family reading.[54]

Support for The New Majority was not strong enough, and the labor movement not united enough, to support the broad class agenda the Chicago Federation tried to articulate in its paper and through the Labor Party. The Federation was able to sustain the successor Federation News and, for many years, radio station WCFL. But the former quickly narrowed its focus to union officials, contracts and meetings--a far cry from the expansive militancy that characterized The New Majority--while WCFL slowly degenerated to become indistinguishable from any other commercial radio station by the time it was sold in 1978.[55] In the face of disunity in its own ranks (aggravated by the disappointing electoral returns) and pressure from national union officials, the Federation proved unable to build the institutional support necessary for anything more.

Notes:

1. Tribune, March 22 1887, p. 4, cited in: Bruce Nelson, Beyond the Martyrs, Rutgers University Press 1988, p. 208; Duncan McBride, "The Chicago Labor Parties, 1886-1889," M.A. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1943; Jack Bizjack, "The Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago," M.A. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1969. Bizjack notes (p. 52) that the Assembly was a highly political body from its origins until it was dissolved in 1896.

2. Philip Foner, The Policies and Practices of the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1909 (History of the Labor Movement volume III), International Publishers 1964, pp. 378-79.

3. Darrow had been elected the year before to the state legislature on a Public Ownership League ticket, with the endorsement of many labor activists. In 1903, the CFL endorsed municipal ownership of local utilities (including streetcars). Philip Foner, The AFL in the Progressive Era. International Publishers, 1980, pp. 74-76.

4. Debs to Robert Hunter, Feb. 4 1910. In J.R. Constantine (ed.), Letters of Eugene V. Debs vol. I, University of Illinois Press 1990, pp. 339-40. A week later, William E. Walling wrote Debs protesting a favorable reference to the proposed Labor Party in the socialists' Daily Call. Shortly before the launching of the Cook County Labor Party, Debs denounced I.F.L. secretary John Walker (who would be very active in the new party). "He is a trimmer and a traitor... He is the kind of a low politician who pretends to be a socialist that he may steer his misguided followers into the democratic party. He was expelled for such treason by the Socialist party... I far prefer an open enemy who cannot do the harm a Walker can who is smooth enough to pose as the champion of labor and betray it from the inside." Debs to Ralph Korngold, Jan. 30 1918,

Constantine, vol. II p. 367.

5. Philip Foner, The AFL in the Progressive Era, p. 94

6. The American Labor Year Book, Rand School 1920, pp. 437-38.

7. Nathan Fine, Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, Russell & Russell 1961, pp. 380-81.

8. "Ald. Rodriguez Joins Labor Party," The New Majority (henceforth TNM), Jan. 25 1919, p. 1. Similarly, former SP Alderman John Kennedy taught classes in public speaking for Labor Party street speakers. TNM, Feb. 15 1919, p. 9.

9. Harry Sell, "The A.F. of L. and the Labor Party Movement of 1918-1920," M.A. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1922. See also David Dolnick, "The Role of Labor in Chicago Politics Since 1919," M.A. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1939. The Labor Party elected several local candidates in downstate races, Dolnick notes, but never mounted a credible state-wide campaign.

10. "What Do You Read?" (Editorial), TNM Feb. 18 1922, p. 4.

11. CFL Minutes, Oct. 5 1919, pp. 4-20. The minutes were reprinted each week in The New Majority.

12. CFL Minutes, Nov. 2 1919, p. 23.

13. CFL Minutes, July 18 1920, pp. 19-20.

14. "Labor's Jack-Screw" (Editorial), TNM, Jan. 4 1919. The paper was initially adamant about advertising, as an item from its humor column illustrates:

> The following article from an Illinois paper... shows how the average local newspaper loses no opportunity to cater to its advertiser. Even some labor papers intermingle fulsome praise of advertisers with news accounts.
> However, go on with the story:
> "Billy Dingbats, ten years, two months old (Wilson time), son of old Hiram Dingbats, the well-known and popular junk man, had his hide fatally punctured yesterday while playing in front of Hawkins' large and up-to-date lumber yard by a .22 caliber revolver just bought of Al McClain, the good-looking and accommodating clerk in Charley Auer's complete hardware store.
> "The bullet, entering his left side, made a bad powder burn in a new suit recently purchased at Reinheimer's big sale now in progress (see ad elsewhere in this issue).
> "The lad was attempting to open an 11-cent box of Mike Poulos' delicious crackerjack with the barrel of the gun when the sad accident happened."

It continued in similar vein for two more paragraphs. "One Reason

Why The New Majority Prints No Advertising," TNM, Nov. 29 1919, p. 16. Within a month, The New Majority changed its policy.

15. James Barrett, Work and Community in the Jungle. University of Illinois Press, 1987, pp. 198-200.

16. Melvyn Dubofsky, "Abortive Reform: The Wilson Administration and Organized Labor, 1913-1920." In Cronin and Sirianni (eds.), Work, Community, and Power, Temple University Press, 1983, p. 200.

17. Barrett, Work and Community, p. 259.

18. Barrett, Work and Community, p. 207. Labor Party support extended even into historically Republican black districts, with black butchers forming a Colored Club of the Cook County Labor Party. (p. 209)

19. "The New Majority," TNM, Jan. 4 1919, p. 1.

20. "Advertising in Labor Papers," TNM, June 28 1919, p. 4.

21. TNM, Jan. 18 1919.

22. John Keiser, "John Fitzpatrick and Progressive Unionism, 1915-1925," Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1965.

23. "We Admit We're Biased," TNM, Nov. 12 1921, p. 6. The bulk of the response explained why building trades workers rejected the Landis Award, concluding by thanking the correspondent "for your taking so much interest as to express your criticism... If our readers do not express to us their view of our policies we are left in a very helpless condition indeed."

24. CFL Minutes, Feb. 16 1919, pp. 6, 12. The New Majority reported that a subsequent effort to bar it from newsstands also failed. "When the blundering trained bears in the police department found that they could not hit the offending weekly publications without smashing the Republican weekly all bets were off." It quoted a newsboy saying he'd sell the paper even if they put him in jail. "The daily papers and the police have tried to make slaves out of the newsboys for the last ten years... I'd be a hell of a fine union newsy if I wouldn't sell a union paper just to please the cops." "Off Again--On Again!" TNM, Oct. 15 1919, p. 15. Access to newsstands continued to be an issue, however. On Jan. 11 1920, the embattled Chicago Newsboys' Union voted that The New Majority would be sold at every stand under their jurisdiction. "Union Newsboys Boost The New Majority," TNM, Jan. 24 1920, p. 1.

25. CFL Minutes, April 6 1919, pp. 13-14.

26. CFL Minutes, June 11 1919, pp 15-20.

27. "Our Successes and Failures," TNM, Sept. 3 1921, p. 5.

28. The socialists also regularly protested criticisms of their party and its paper in The New Majority. The CFL's Feb. 16 1919 minutes, for example, report that "several hours were consumed to permit some of the Socialists to get in their propaganda versus the Labor Party" though the substance of those arguments was not recorded. See, also, Minutes for April 16 1919 ("Delegate Koehler of Photo Engravers' Union took the floor and injected Socialist propaganda" in a debate that lasted three hours).

29. Barrett, Work and Community, pp. 227-28.

30. CFL Minutes, Jan. 18 1920, p. 7.

31. CFL Minutes, April 18 1920, p. 12; May 16 1920, p. 5.

32. CFL Minutes March 20, TNM, March 26 1921, pp 10-12.

33. W.B. Porter, "Union Shells for Labor's Bug Guns," TNM, March 5 1921. The same page published a letter from a reader who confessed that he had been buying two dailies, but had not subscribed to The New Majority, and requesting subscription blanks so he could work on his fellow unionists. Another item reported on a newsboy who gave patrons The New Majority when they asked for a paper, and argued with them if they objected.

34. After one such visit, members of Carpenters local 181 voted 345 to 3 to take the paper, paying for it with a $1 assessment on top of dues. K.G. Torkelson to Fitzpatrick, July 28 1920, Fitzpatrick papers, box 9 folder 63, Chicago Historical Society.

The Jan. 3 1920 issue listed 13 unions which took the paper for their entire membership, and many others which had secured several individual subscriptions from their members. In the months that followed, TNM reported several other locals joining their ranks.

35. "With Our Boosters," TNM, Feb. 10 1921, p. 8.

36. "Announcement," TNM, Dec. 4 1920, p. 4. The next issue carried advertisements from several unions, a variety of lectures, books (Upton Sinclair's The Brass Check and books by Ira Bird on birth control, the Amalgamated, and political history), and the McGregor paper company, furnishing union-label paper. TNM, Dec. 11 1920. The Jan. 1 1921 issue announced that veteran labor activist T.P. Quinn had signed on as advertising manager, and promised: "This change in business policy carries with it no change in editorial policy. We will continue to lace the foes of labor, and if we lose advertisements thereby, so be it."

37. TNM, Jan. 1 1921.

38. Martin Jensen, TNM, Jan. 8 1921, p. 15.

39. CFL Minutes Jan. 16, TNM, Jan. 22 1921, p. 13; CFL Minutes April 17, TNM, April 30 1921, p. 6; CFL Minutes Aug. 7, TNM Aug. 13 1921; CFL Minutes Nov. 6, TNM, Nov. 12 1921; CFL Minutes Feb. 5, TNM, Feb. 11 1922, p. 10. The paper ran modest profits in the second and fourth quarters, but these were more than wiped out by losses of nearly $1000 a month in the first and third quarters.

40. CFL Minutes March 20, TNM, March 26 1921, pp. 10-11.

41. CFL Minutes April 20, TNM, April 26 1924. The second quarter, however, made a stronger showing, recording an operating profit of $4,300.56. That financial report does not break income out separately for the newspaper and the Directory, though the latter's Accounts Receivable were nearly nine times the newspaper's. Total income rose sharply as the Federation moved away from its Labor Party effort. CFL Minutes Aug. 17, Federation News, Aug. 28 1924, p. 10.

42. Fitzpatrick and Nockels to CFL affiliates, Nov. 20 1918. Fitzpatrick Papers, Box 7.

43. "Our Anniversary," TNM, Jan. 3 1920.

44. "Help Make This Paper A Daily," TNM, Jan. 18 1919, p. 12. The squib ran under an article, "Former Socialist Runs Tribune," that expressed the hope that Joseph Medill Patterson "will not stand hitched to the big business machine and... is certain to leave the capitalist reservation again."

45. CFL Minutes May 16, TNM, May 22 1920, p. 12.

46. E.N. Nockels to all affiliates, Dec. 25 1921. John Fitzpatrick papers, Box 11, folder 78.

47. See, e.g., "Your Own Paper," TNM, Jan. 7 1922, p. 1.

48. June 14 1928, Fitzpatrick papers, Box 17, folder 120. The New Majority sometimes ran letters from readers calling for a daily as well, such as a lengthy letter that ran June 9 1923, p. 9, under the standing head "What Do You Say?"

49. "A New Editor," TNM, June 28 1924, p. 1 (Robert Buck, who stepped down with his assistant editor, had edited the paper since its first issue); TNM, May 24 1924; "C.F. of L. Weekly Gets New Name," Federation News, Aug. 16 1924, p. 1; "A Paper for Labor" (Editorial), TNM, July 5 1924, p. 4.

50. Leland Olds, "Workers Support Press and Its Lies," Federation News, Nov. 29 1924, p. 8. This was a Federated Press dispatch.

51. CFL Minutes, Nov. 2 1919, p. 10.

52. "Labor Papers' Uphill Task" (Editorial), Federation News, Oct. 18 1924, p. 4.

53. Nellie Baldwin to Fitzpatrick, Jan. 4 1919, Fitzpatrick papers, box 7 folder 54.

54. John Scribe, "Read Your Own Paper," TNM, Oct. 7 1922, p. 8.

55. Nathan Godfried, "The Tragedy of Labor Radio: WCFL, 1926-1978," Unpublished paper presented at Union for Democratic Communications, 1989.

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A Southern Demagogue as Portrayed Through Florida Newspapers

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A Southern Demagogue as Portrayed Through Florida Newspapers

In 1916 an unknown Baptist preacher, without political strings or financial backing, captured the mood and minds of Florida residents so convincingly that they propelled him into the governor's office. Sidney J. Catts beat overwhelming odds and four of the state's top Democrats in one of the most unusual elections ever held in Florida; one in which he started as a Democrat but was elected as an independent. Much of his success has been attributed to his anti-Catholic railings during the campaign.

The few scholars who have written about Catts invariably credit his anti-Catholicism with playing a major part in the campaign. Not only historians recognized the religious ploy Catts was using, many of his contemporaries also saw it. But how was he treated in the press? Did newspapers attempt to expose what Catts was doing? Did they ignore it, or perhaps try to cover it up?

Those questions led to the exploration of selected newspapers in search of answers. Each newspaper was approached with the fantasy that its reader was new to the area, and the period, and was attempting to discover everything that particular newspaper had to reveal about Sidney J. Catts, the candidate and the man.

According to biographer Wayne Flynt, Catts moved from nearby Alabama to DeFuniak Springs, in northwestern Florida, in 1911 at the age of 48 (24). He was a Baptist preacher known for his fine speaking ability, but with some impatience for his parishioners, which is what made him available for the small church in DeFuniak Springs. He augmented his income by traveling over northern Florida selling insurance, meeting the common people, talking to them, feeling their political pulse. Catts had run in one brief campaign to fill an unexpired term while he was in Alabama, and apparently the taste for politics never left him. He later said he was campaigning almost from the day he moved to Florida (Flynt 21-27).

By the spring of 1916 Catts had met a lot of the common people of northern Florida, "crackers," as they were called, and knew how to communicate with them. The Florida panhandle held about one-fourth of the state's 750,000 inhabitants at the time, and it was in that region that he was strongest (Flynt 25). He entered the race as a Democrat and found himself facing W. V. Knott, state comptroller, and three others who had worked their ways up in the state's Democratic system (Flynt 28-39). Many politicians at first thought that his candidacy was a joke (Jennings 203). It has also been said that nearly every newspaper in the state was against him, but that appears not to be the case. In what has been acknowledged as the first biographical study of Catts, John R. Deal, Jr. made the statement about newspapers being against Catts in his 1949 thesis (1-2). Page picked up the statement in an article published in 1966 (112); however, Jean Carver Chance refuted it, showing throughout her master's thesis that some newspapers shifted their loyalties during the campaign.

One thing that is clear, however, is that people knew Catts was using anti-Catholicism as a campaign strategy. Father P. J. Bresnahan mentioned the problem to him the morning after his primary victory, and Catts replied, "But, bother, it was all politics" (Page 115). The Tampa Morning Tribune, in a story on May 14, said that "as usual, as in other places, he spoke bitterly against (the) Roman Catholic Church." At the time Florida had only 24,650 Catholics, far less than half the number of Southern Baptists and fifth down the list of denominations (Flynt 33-34).

Catts surprised nearly everyone when the first returns in the June primary showed him in a very close race with Knott, who had been the favorite from the start. But the primary procedure was full of pitfalls. Florida was using, for the first time in a major election, a system that was supposed to eliminate runoff elections. Voters were instructed to mark both a first choice and a second choice on their ballots so that if one candidate did not receive a majority of first choice votes, the second choices would be added in and a winner declared. Of course many people forgot, or refused, to mark a second choice, and some election officials neglected to count the second choices (Flynt 59-60). It took several days of counting, but Catts gained a little each day and had a slim lead when the count was finished. The state canvassing board declared Catts the Democratic party nominee, and that was as good as making him governor. No one other than a Democrat had held the governor's office since Reconstruction ended.

Knott's supporters told him there had been voting irregularities, so he began to seek writs of mandamus in county courts where he thought irregularities had occurred. Charges of fraud were hurled first by Knott, then by Catts when every recount began to cut into his lead. It seems that Catts had easily led with first place votes, but Knott had more when the second choices were included. After the recount, the state canvassing board refused to recanvass, saying it had confidence that the votes had been tabulated correctly. The case went to the supreme court and was argued through the summer and into early October. Finally, the supreme court ordered the recanvassing of the votes and Knott was declared the winner. He was then issued a certificate that he was the nominee. The State Democratic Executive Committee considered a proposal that would place both names on the ballot, but it was voted down. Catts had his nomination taken away from him (Flynt 61-71).

In the meantime, when Catts began to see he was going to lose, he began petitioning county courts to have his name placed on the ballot as an independent. But the Prohibition Party had drafted Catts back in June, for he was a staunch prohibitionist (Flynt 70). That meant that he was on the ballot anyway, although he never acknowledged that he was anything but the rightful Democratic nominee. Catts also went back on the campaign trail during August. Knott stood on the principle that he was the rightful nominee and would not campaign until the court case was settled (Flynt 84). By that time there was barely a month left before the election.

Catts's plan was to keep his old supporters and add new ones who thought he had been cheated out of his nomination. He picked up some endorsements by influential Democrats and his campaign contributions rose, too. He was able to acquire a Ford automobile, upon which he mounted a speaker so that he could quickly draw a crowd when he went into a new town (Flynt 72-76). The results of the November election were no surprise. Catts won by nearly 10,000 votes. In less than a year he had risen from obscurity to become governor of the State of Florida.

With that background in mind, a search was begun for newspapers through which the mediated image of Sidney Catts might be revealed. The newspapers were selected on the basis of their location in the state, their stance on Catts (which was determined in preliminary research), and their importance. The first chosen was Jacksonville's Florida Times-Union. Jacksonville, an east coast metropolis, was then the largest city in the state, and was a center of well-funded Democratic power. The Times-Union boasted a daily circulation of about 25,000. The second paper, the Tampa Morning Tribune, was generally given credit for being the best in the state, at least that was the editorial statement offered by the Tallahassee Democrat of August 15. Tampa is on the west coast in Hillsborough County, which at the time was one of the four counties with the largest Catholic populations (Flynt 81). The Tampa Tribune had an average circulation of around 15,500. Finally, Tallahassee's Daily Democrat was selected. It was much smaller than the other papers, but it was in the capital city and in the midst of Catts's northern Florida stronghold.

Each newspaper was combed for any stories or editorials related to Catts or the election during the period between March and the election in November. The intention was to find anything that would reveal Catts's character, speaking style, or anything else that would help the reader form a picture of him. Of course, special attention was given to anything that might reveal his anti-Catholic tendencies. In reporting the findings, the theme of what the newspaper revealed about Catts will be adhered to, leaving out details about the legal battles concerning the recount.

The importance of newspapers during the period must be emphasized. They were the major formal source of daily news. It was a time before radio became a mass medium. During the decade of 1910-1920 the newspaper circulation in the United States was between 1.36 and 1.34 papers per household, the greatest density in the medium's history (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach 59). The year 1916 was just before the United States entered World War I, and it was in the war effort that propaganda came to be used so effectively. Later, communications theorists came to believe that the power of mass media was so great that any stimulus directed to the masses through an effective medium would produce an immediate and direct response (DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach 163-66). Even though that theory was much too simple to explain the process, it was thought even in 1916 that newspapers were powerfully influential in determining election outcomes.

As such conveyers of news to mass audiences, the Florida newspapers seemed to have little time for the governor's race that spring. The United States was being drawn ever nearer into the war that was at a virtual standstill in Europe, and people on the east coast had jitters about submarines. Meanwhile, Pancho Villa was raiding into Texas from Mexico and Florida troops were being sent west. The newspapers simply did not give much space to the state primary. Page says that "during most of the primary campaign for governor, his (Catts's) candidacy was almost completely ignored" (112). That appears to be true, but the newspapers viewed did not give any other candidates much attention, either. The Tribune did not put the governor's race on the front page until after the primary, and the Times-Union never included it on the front page.

The staging of the campaign itself forced limitations on the press. As conceived by the party's state executive committee, all of the state's Democratic candidates were divided into two groups, "Division A," headed by the candidates for the U.S. Senate, and "Division B," led by the candidates for governor. Each division rode a train to stops that had been scheduled by the committee. When the candidates came to town they were given strict time limits, but the speeches went on for hours because of the numbers of candidates.

Catts spoke in Jacksonville with "Division B" on May 5. His coverage consisted of three sentences in the Times-Union the next day. That was about the same amount that the others got. By the time "Division B" reached Tampa on May 12, Catts had jumped the train. He showed up in Tampa a week later and had the audience, and the Tribune's story, all to himself.

Modern media watchers might wonder at the seeming lack of intensive competition among Florida reporters at that time, at least concerning reporting about political candidates. The major newspapers did not chase candidates from town to town, listening for something new at each stop. That may have worked to Catts's advantage because he is said to have spoken intelligently to urban audiences, but he turned more rabidly against Catholics and spoke with the speech of a cracker when he was in rural areas (Page 114). Neither did Florida reporters in 1916 make a habit of seeking out a candidate for an interview. The Democrat found Catts available once to ask him which church he belonged to, but apparently neglected to ask him anything else.

One thing the papers did do was to share opinions by picking up editorials from other papers.

In general, each paper's coverage consisted of a story whenever the candidate came to town; stories from correspondents when the candidate visited a nearby town, any letters or telegrams the candidate sent to the newspaper; editorials generated by the newspaper; and editorials picked up from other newspapers. Catts went to Tampa twice and Jacksonville three times. The Democrat did not have a story of Catts visiting Tallahassee.

The Times-Union's coverage of Catts really began on May 6, after "Division B" people had spoken the night before. The story said Catts "explained that he had always had more trouble

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with his name than anything else during his life" (several sources said Catts liked to make fun of his name when starting a speech). The story continues: "He said that he had ceased to fight the Catholics because he was now the victor and would want their votes on election day."

The next week the paper ran a letter from Catts which started, "From various parts of the state come reports that your write-up of my speech in Jacksonville has hurt me, because it was not reported as I spoke it." He then asked the paper to publish that portion of the speech as he remembered it:

> We should not romp on the Catholics now as we have gained the victory over them, any more than Grant should have overridden Lee when he had surrendered. We love Grant for his kindness to Lee at his surrender and we have no disposition to crow over the Catholics; though, if I am elected governor, I shall stand solidly for inspection of closed institutions and other laws which might not be liked by the Catholics.

Whatever he meant by having victory over the Catholics is unclear, but his campaign promise is very clear. Catts did, indeed, see the passage of legislation that called for inspections of closed institutions, such as parochial schools and convents, but he never tried to enforce it (Flynt 140-41). It might be noted that similar bills were attempted in 1913 and 1915 in a previous administration as part of a general rise in anti-Catholicism in this country (Rackleff 356-58).

Nothing more is said about Catts in the Times-Union until the primary election returns. At that point a growing pattern of bias against Catts can be detected. On June 8, the newspaper said fewer than 500 votes separated the candidates, but it did not say who was leading. Other newspapers indicate Catts had the early lead. On June 10, a headline read, "S. J. Catts Here And Thinks He Will Win; W. V. Knott Leading," and a smaller, or drop headline said "Knott's Second Choice Votes Give Him Comfortable Lead Over His Opponent." In fact, Catts was clearly leading at that time. The Tribune had already declared Catts governor on June 7. The Times-Union was still calling the race "in doubt" on June 14, and never did produce a headline that said Catts had won. During the fight, Knott supplied the newspaper with several long statements which the paper not only ran but gave introductions to, and then based the headlines on what Knott had said. One headline, for instance, said, "Knott Would Pacify The Democratic Party Of Undemocratic Elements."

Besides stories about the vote count, the next pertinent information about Catts was printed July 27, when he defended himself as a Democrat, saying he would support Woodrow Wilson. On August 2, a short story mentioned that Catts spoke at Lake City to a packed courthouse. "He asserted that he would be a candidate in the November election regardless of the outcome of the election contest case," but he also denied that he was an independent.

A statement by Knott on August 15 refers to Catts's "demagoguery." He said Catts gave a speech that "was a piece of the same old thing; falsehoods, misrepresentations and arrogant demagoguery." But he did not bring specifics to bear on those charges.

Catts replied to Knott's allegations on August 18, saying Knott had accused him of threatening to gather an army of 10,000 men, if he were not elected, and go take the governor's chair. Catts insisted what he did say was, "If they destroyed the sanctity of the ballot box by changing and stealing the ballots, the people would get tired of it, and put a white handkerchief on their arms and get their rifles and 10,000 of them would seat the man they had elected.'"

Catts made his second speech in Jacksonville on August 24, and he gave the newspaper something to write about. The Times-Union story includes:

> Another thing he (Catts) said he wanted to get straight was a story to the effect that he had killed a negro (sic) in Alabama and had put up the plea of insanity to get off. He said in answer to this: 'I did kill a nigger because he was trying to kill me and my son and others.' He explained that he would do it again if the occasion arose. He said that he had been freed upon the testimony of nineteen negroes (sic).
>
> The speaker scored the Catholic church during his speech. He said among other things that he believed money was being sent to Florida by Cardinal Gibbons to carry on the present recount contest and that it was with this money that they were now going into the ballot boxes in this state to defeat him.

> In this connection he declared that the question now up to the voters was would they support a candidate who would make them dance to the music of Catholicism or one who stood for Americanism.

The candidate also gave his platform: to establish a manual training school for boys in Jacksonville; to compel all commission merchants to make bond with the state so growers could sue them whenever they "were robbed of their produce." The story says he also referred to an alleged attempt by Catholics to kill him in Apalachicola.

In a Sunday editorial on October 15, the Times-Union pointed out that it had refrained from supporting anyone for the primary. "It knew that Mr. Knott was a man of high character...and, while it did not know Mr. Catts so well, it recognized him as a brilliant man and did not know of anything in his past that was inconsistent with the profession of the Democratic Creed." Then the paper asked for men "who do not care so much for Knott or Catts as they do for doing right" to attend its editorials carefully over the next few days. The further editorials were pointed toward favoring Knott over Catts.

The editorials criticized Catts for being disruptive to the party or for bolting the party by becoming an independent. Not once did the Times-Union focus its attention on Catts's statements on religion or on his platform.

Catts made his final Jacksonville speech on November 1. The Times-Union put the story directly beneath a headline that proclaimed that the Democratic nominee, Knott, would win. The story admitted a large crowd filled the hall for Catts, but suggested the presence of "a good sprinkling of Knott supporters . . . who wanted to hear what the independent candidate had to say." In the speech Catts called the Florida Supreme Court members "five little tin gods" and said when in office he would "kick the Bryan primary law into smithereens." He again stated his platform, but the newspaper did not report any mention of anti-Catholic rhetoric.

The closest the Times-Union came to editorially alluding to Catts's radical views was in a letter by J. W. White, whom the paper said was "one of the best known old time Democrats of Duval County." The newspaper ran White's letter on November 5. "I cannot understand how a man of good judgment can listen to the speeches of Mr. Catts and then go to the polls and give his support to such a demagogue," White said. He charged Catts with making "insane, un-American attacks on the courts," and ended the letter by saying:

> Everyone realizes that the independent candidate, who is preaching these doctrines, does not himself believe them to be feasible. He is simply attempting to play upon the prejudices of the masses, whom he would surely despise should he find them so ignorant as to take him seriously.

The editorial that same day said, "No other state has yet written for itself a record as dark as Florida will write for herself if she elects Sidney J. Catts governor." Once again, however, the paper directed its criticism only at Catts's "abuse" of the supreme court.

On November 9, the day after the election, the Times-Union published a statement by Catts in which he promised everyone fair treatment "whether you be Catholic of Protestant, gambler or saint, rich or poor."

The sum of the Times-Union coverage of Catts consisted of a very short report of his first speech in Jacksonville, followed by his letter clarifying what he said about Catholics. The other two speeches were given more coverage, but it was the speech reported on August 24 which gave the only clear indication of Catts's supposed fear of Catholics and the Catholic conspiracy against him. Editorially, the Times-Union was never a Catts backer, though the paper did not specifically denounce him until after Knott had been given the nomination. The editorial stand of the Tampa Tribune was more flexible.

The first time Catts got any real mention from the Tribune was on May 13, a week before the candidate got to town. As mentioned earlier, the other candidates arrived by train, but Catts had left them somewhere after Ocala. The Tribune reporter seemed eager to cover the missing man, quoting what other candidates said about him. The paper reported that F. M. Hudson laughed at an alleged statement by Catts that he wanted to stop crooked commission men in New York from robbing Floridians, Hudson pointing out that Florida law could not extend into New York. Hudson also made fun of Catts being a relative newcomer, saying Catts "is comparatively ignorant of what Floridians have accomplished, as the latter have been busy while Mr. Catts was yet in Alabama."

The candidate spoke in Tampa on May 19 and was interrupted by a heckler who shouted, "You ought to be killed, Catts." The Tribune reported the heckler interrupted Catts twice before he was taken away by the sheriff. The second interruption came when Catts made mention of two Catholic nuns in St. Augustine who were arrested for teaching Negroes. The newspaper made no comment on Catts's remarks other than to say the heckler objected to them.

The paper did give one quote that had the sound of a threat. In rehashing some legislation Catts did not like, he warned:

> Before they get through with this thing, if they try any more of those tactics they will find death in the pot and more hell raised in Florida than was ever turned loose in Georgia. Alabama Yellowhammers, Florida Crackers, and Georgia Goober Grabbers won't stand for that kind of thing.

The rest of the speech was devoted to his platform. In addition to what was reported in Jacksonville, the Tribune also reported that Catts was for protective tariffs on citrus fruits, and better pensions for old soldiers. He promised the people "freedom of the press, assembly and speech," and told them he would strengthen the national guard. "If war came while he was in office he would, if necessary, lead Florida's troops forth to victories that would go thundering down in history," the paper reported.

On June 1 the Tribune picked up an editorial piece that had run in the Fort Lauderdale Sentinel which said, "The daily papers are waking up to the fact that S. J. Catts is the greatest factor in the race for governor. The Tampa Tribune is today the only great daily in the state that seems willing to treat S. J. Catts honestly."

On June 4, the Tribune published what it said was the first statewide poll ever made in Florida. The poll predicted a very close race between Knott and Catts. The Tampa newspaper did not back a candidate for governor in the primary, though it did select a candidate for the senate race.

The Tribune carried more political advertising than the Times-Union, though Sidney Catts was not an advertiser with either, which may help to emphasize that Catts really was without funds. The Tampa Times, a competitor of the Tribume, ran a list of candidates' expenses on May 15, and Catts was the lowest in spending of the five. To that point he had spent $1,429. F. A. Wood had spent the most at $3,132, and Knott was about $800 behind Wood.

The Tribune gave its first editorial support to Catts on June 15, after he had been declared the primary winner. The paper gave him credit for running a strong campaign against incredible odds. Then it continued:

> Throughout the campaign he boldly denounced from the stump certain things which no candidate for office in Florida has ever dared to denounce, pursuing a campaign policy which had always theretofore been considered political suicide. To what it may lead,

> what strange and new features it may inject into our politics and government, we are not prepared to predict.

Although the editorial was favorable to Catts overall, that final wondering about where it might lead left an ominous note to the piece.

The Tampa paper ran many editorials in support of Catts, or rather, in support of his nomination. Just like the *Times-Union*, the *Tribune* based its reasoning on support of the Democratic party. Catts was the duly elected nominee, the paper stated, and it was divisive to the party not to gather behind him. If the *Times-Union* never criticized Catts for his personal ideology, his campaign platform, or his anti-Catholic sentiments, the *Tampa Tribune* never supported him for those ideals, either.

The *Tribune* did, however, run an editorial on July 12 that told the story of an editor friend who, through hearing others "prejudices," had come to believe that Catts was "a terrible fellow--a menace to the state, a wild-eyed anarchist and disruptionist, and an apostle of hate." But then the man had occasion to visit with Catts and changed his mind. That editorial might suggest two things--that Catts could exhibit a truly engaging personality, and that much of what was known about him, good and bad, was passed by word of mouth.

When it became evident that Knott would take the nomination the *Tribune* began to distance itself from Catts. On September 23 an editorial said that Catts would probably be elected governor no matter what happened, but that expressing that belief "is not to be considered as committing the Tribune to his support if he is on the ballot as other than the nominee of the Democratic primary of June 6." By October 9, Knott was the nominee and the paper fully endorsed him.

Catts's second and last speech in Tampa was reported on October 28, with the candidate drawing a huge crowd and confidently proclaiming a victory. "I do not see that it is any use to waste words on W. V. Knott," Catts is reported to have said, "He is a dead duck in the sunlight." He went on to proclaim that "the people of Florida are the real supreme court. The voice of the people is the will of God." The paper reported that he reiterated his platform and that he promised that he was still a Democrat and would fill jobs with Democrats. There was no mention of Catholics in the story.

People reading the Tribune before the primary election would have known little about Catts other than his platform if their only source of information was the newspaper. After that, they could have kept up with his battles over the nomination through news stories, but those stories told little about the candidate other than that both sides were charging fraud and Catts was defending himself as a Democrat. As already mentioned, the editorials in the Tribune stuck to the party line. The newspaper did, however, pick up editorials from several other newspapers, and seemed to try to be evenhanded in giving the opinions of others. Generally, the Tribune seemed more impartial in its coverage, but it did not report as much anti-Catholic speech as the Times-Union.

Tallahassee's Daily Democrat was not the hot source of political inside information that one might expect from a newspaper in the state capital. The newspaper was small, four to eight pages, and much of that space was used in providing its readers with installments of romance novels. Editorials were usually the positive, support-the-community variety, but the paper did speak out about Catts. The paper also picked up editorials from other places, so that its readers were provided with a variety of opinions, if not of facts, about Catts.

Unlike the two larger papers, the Democrat supported a candidate for governor, F. M. Hudson, in the primary race. The paper editorialized that fact on May 14.

The first real mention of Catts comes in news stories about the vote after the primary. On June 14 the editor incorrectly surmises that the stresses of the election are over and Florida newspapers can turn to more important things like cattle tick eradication, schools, and railroad rates.

Two weeks later the front page banner headline is "Sidney J. Catts Gets Certificate Of His Nomination," and a few days later the paper was able to actually reproduce the nomination certificate. The same day as the banner headline, June 28, the paper editorialized that "No matter what our differences before, what candidate for governor we may have favored, it is the duty of every Democrat in Florida to rally now to the support of their nominee." The Democrat stuck to the party line as it saw it, and stuck to Catts, throughout the election.

Along with news stories about the recount, the Democrat ran editorials from various state newspapers, although when the other editorial was against Catts the local paper pointed out its errors in logic.

On July 9 the newspaper carried comments from the Baptist Witness, an official publication of the Baptists, in which the editor said he knew both Knott and Catts were worthy. The editor said about Catts, "We have known him for more than 25 years. If he is seated as governor of Florida he will do no foolish things as some seem to fear."

An editorial in the Orlando Star, picked up by the Democrat on August 5, said "the injection by Catts of a religious issue into the politics of this state has seriously disturbed the peace of the people of Florida." That "disruption" was just cause, according to the Star's interpretation of the state constitution, to disqualify Catts. The Democrat defended Catts, saying it was the Star that was showing religious intolerance.

The subject of the candidate's rough speech was at the heart of another editorial picked up by the Democrat. In a prime example of how stories and editorials passed from paper to paper, the October 15 issue of the Democrat reprinted an editorial from the Daytona Journal which commented on an earlier editorial in the Gainesville Sun. The Sun, outspoken against Catts from the first, had complained about the roughness of the candidate's speech. The Journal, as reprinted in the Democrat, defended Catts as being under the intense stress of a heated campaign, then tried to turn the tables. "Are not the newspapers which published the language," the Journal said, "far more to blame than Mr. Catts? Those newspapers coolly, deliberately and with evil intent send it into the homes of thousands of the best people in the state to be read by women and children."

On October 7 the Democrat gave its readers a hint that Catts might see himself, or wish to be seen, as the persecuted rather than as a persecutor. The newspaper reported that Catts had spoken in Pensacola. He told the people that "he is the most cruelly persecuted man who ever entered the political arena in Florida," and that he only withstood the persecution for the sake of the women and children. He told the audience that unless they voted for him, Knott and the state supreme court would keep them all in slavery for the next 20 years."

In general, the readers of the Democrat has fewer news stories to read about Catts than in the other papers, but almost as much opinion. This was another newspaper that saw party loyalty and unity as far more important than anything Catts had to contribute. Responding to a charge that the newspaper was an organ for Catts, a Democrat editorial on July 16 said the newspaper had never been any organ "but an organ for justice and right." It added that the paper was originally opposed to Catts's nomination, but believed the people had spoken in the primary.

To review, all three newspapers had somewhat different stances on Catts. Jacksonville's Times-Union, as the Democrat pointed out on October 28, was part of the estate of railroad tycoon and land baron H. M. Flagler. The newspaper undoubtedly had close ties to the old Democrats, which Knott more clearly represented than did Catts. The paper never deemed the governor's race worthy of page one treatment. Its stories about Catts were brief, and the newspaper never portrayed him in a good light.

The Tampa Tribune appeared to be more evenhanded in its news coverage of Catts than the Times-Union. Its editorial interest, however, was centered on Catts only as long as he appeared to be the logical choice for the Democratic Party. When the nomination was taken from Catts the Tribune dropped its support.

The Tallahassee Daily Democrat, much smaller than the other two papers, gave the race only scant news coverage. It did make use of editorials, however. The Democrat did not support Catts until he apparently won the June primary, but thereafter was loyal, not so much to the man as to the party. When the Tribune switched to Knott, the Democrat, on October 12, accused the Tampa paper of deserting "the cause of the real Democratic nominee, and at the very hour when its service was most needed."

As for revealing Catts as a religious bigot and demagogue, a careful reader of any of the three papers studied would have noticed allusions to those features, at least. None of the papers apparently tried to cover up those traits. On the other hand, none of the three papers attempted to make a serious issue of them.

In other parts of the state some newspapers may have attempted to show that Catts was playing on unfounded fears of people with an anti-Catholic bias in order to win the election. But if any such crusaders existed they obviously did not exert a great amount of influence.

Why was Catts treated as a political phenomenon rather than as a person whose ideas and ideals needed to be examined? Several answers suggest themselves, though the complexity of both the man and the situation deny a categorical answer. For one thing, the whole South was entrenched in a one-party system at that time, and loyalty to Democrats was instilled in the people. If the primary vote had not been contested Catts apparently would have become governor without any controversy. When the recount battle began most of the attention was focused on it. The question was not the candidates' characters, but who was the real nominee of the Democrats.

Another possibility is the assumption that a great many people shared Catts's fears about Catholics trying to "take over," and that the newspapers, while not believing the alarm, did not want to too strongly dispute it in the face of public opinion. Nothing was found in any of the three newspapers that gave support to Catts's anti-Catholic views, but that doesn't mean the majority didn't agree with him. The use of letters to the editor from common people was an uncommon occurrence Certainly Catts and others thought his demagoguery helped, rather than hindered. The election took place during a time when great masses of immigrants were coming to the United States, but most of them settled in regions outside the South. In the rural

South "foreign influence" was resisted.

An opposing view is that the scare tactics of Catts were not taken seriously. The newspapers under study mentioned his anti-Catholic views but made no attempt to chronicle them or relate them in detail. The editor of the Baptist Witness, it will be remembered, was quoted by the Democrat assuring people that Catts would do nothing drastic, if elected. And that seems to be the case.

Sidney J. Catts sailed into office leaving most of his anti-Catholic rhetoric trailing in the wind. He kept his campaign promise by pushing through a Catholic institution inspection bill, but the bill was much watered down and was never enforced. Rackleff reported that one senator said he voted for the bill to "stop the agitation" and prevent anyone else from gaining office by appealing to religious prejudice (363). It might be noted that enactment of similar laws had been attempted before Catts.

Governor Catts lasted only one term of office, losing in his bid for the U.S. Senate, and later losing attempts to regain the governor's office. His biographer points out that several pieces of progressive legislation were passed during his term.

Catts may well have ridden into the governor's office on the strength of his prejudices and his ability to stir up fear and prejudice in the masses. Many people have stated that he did. But the newspapers of the day seem to have treated his demagoguery as an incidental matter, ranking behind party status and political maneuvers in the hierarchy of importance.

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OVER

OHIO NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE 1920 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

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ABSTRACT

"Ohio Newspaper Coverage of the 1920 Presidential Campaign."

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Voters in the presidential election of 1920 chose the first journalist to occupy the White House. The Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding, the affable senator from Ohio. The Democratic candidate was James M. Cox, Ohio's three-term governor. Both men were newspaper publishers in their home state, presenting Ohio newspapers with the dual challenge of covering veterans of state politics as well as respected colleagues in the press. This study asks how newspapers in Ohio met the challenge of providing readers with news of the Republican and Democratic campaigns.

Coverage of the campaign was analyzed in terms of space and display. Content studies of election coverage in the prestige press since 1960 have indicated that nearly equal coverage has been the norm in the latter part of the twentieth century. This methodology was applied to a sample of twelve Ohio newspapers that covered the 1920 campaign. The sample includes newspapers in large cities and small towns, all regions, and those with Republican, Democratic, and independent political leanings.

The study found that coverage of the campaign seldom was balanced and often was so different that one campaign seemed almost ignored. Democratic newspapers gave more space and more prominent display to stories about the Cox campaign while Republican papers gave more space and more prominent display to stories about the Harding campaign. The papers obviously did not pursue a policy of balanced coverage. Differences were so large that coverage of the 1920 campaign by these Ohio newspapers appeared to be partisan.

OHIO NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE 1920 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The presidential election of 1920 was unique to American politics and journalism. The candidates for both major parties were newspaper publishers, ensuring that for the first time (and, to date, the only time) a journalist would reside in the White House. The Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding, a United States senator from Ohio and the publisher of the Marion Star. In part to compete for the electoral votes of Ohio, the Democrats nominated Ohio's three-time governor, James M. Cox, the publisher of the Dayton Daily News and the Springfield Daily News. Not since Horace Greeley was nominated by the Democrats in 1872 had a newspaperman campaigned for president.

Ohio newspapers faced a dual challenge in covering the 1920 campaign. Not only were the candidates veterans of Ohio politics, they were respected colleagues. Cox and Harding were well-known to reporters and editors throughout the state, a familiarity that might have bred praise as well as contempt. How did the state's newspapers met the challenge of providing their readers with news of the Republican and Democratic campaigns? The question might be answered in part by analyzing coverage in terms of space and display.

A campaign reporter later called the race for president in 1920 "extraordinarily unexciting."[1] Reporters hoping to cover a brawling free-for-all were disappointed. Despite sometimes heated differences between the candidates over joining the League of Nations and other issues, the campaign was not acrimonious. "Few campaigns have generated less bitterness," one historian concluded. "The candidates had a cordial regard for one another, and neither threw any low blows."[2] Cox remembered Harding as "a warm-hearted man with most gracious impulses. He was not one to harbor grievances or deliberately do injury to any man."[3]

The Cox campaign was ambitious by any standard. Traveling 22,000 miles by train and automobile, the Ohio governor visited thirty-six states, gave nearly 400 speeches and spoke to nearly two million people.[4] "Campaigning in those days was very different from now," Cox recalled in his 1946 autobiography. "There was no written speech. What you had to say had to be drawn out of thin air and the draft on one's physical strength never relaxed."[5] Historian Wesley M. Bagby assessed Cox: "In many ways he was an excellent campaigner. Having great energy, resourcefulness, knowledge of politics, and readiness for a fight, he fulfilled the basic requirements. . . . His platform personality may not have been easy and compelling, but it was effective, and at his best he could be genuinely moving."[6]

In stark contrast to the Cox strategy, Harding preferred to run a front-porch campaign in the tradition of an earlier Ohio Republican, William McKinley. People representing a wide range of groups, from teachers and veterans to farmers and black Baptists, traveled to the Harding home on Marion's Mount Vernon Avenue. These visits, which ran almost daily beginning on July 31, allowed a delegation to greet Harding and hear him speak to its concerns.[7] He also made a short trip to the State Fair in Minneapolis on August 8. Whether because of his success on that trip or Cox's vigorous speaking schedule, the number of delegations was curtailed and Harding took four short trips beginning on September 25. By mid-October he had visited the Middle West, Kentucky, and Tennessee. He spent the rest of the campaign in Ohio, taking time for a one-day visit to New York.[8] Historian Donald R. McCoy said Harding's campaign goal was "to impress the voters as a man who would handle affairs of state in a fair and dignified way, who would strive for America's interests first and who would provide economical, representative, common-sense government."[9]

With Cox traveling by train across the United States and Harding speaking daily to delegations at his home or making occasional short trips, numerous news stories were generated by the Democratic and Republican campaigns. News of the campaigns dominated the pages of newspapers through Election Day, November 2. Large newspapers also carried campaign-related news on inside pages, but small papers often limited their coverage to page one.

Method

One way of assessing Ohio newspaper coverage of the

Republican and Democratic campaigns is to consider space and display. The goal of this study was to compare the quantity of coverage the Cox and Harding campaigns received in newspapers and determine whether the newspapers' political leanings might be reflected in the amount of coverage they devoted to the campaigns. The quality of press coverage was evaluated only to the extent that news from the campaigns might or might not have received comparable treatment. The impact of press coverage on voters is difficult, if not impossible, to measure and was not an issue for this study.

A content analysis of twelve Ohio newspapers was undertaken to determine how much space was devoted to news stories about the Cox and Harding campaigns and where the stories were placed. The method for this content analysis was derived from Stempel's studies of the prestige press, which described coverage in terms of space and display. What coverage should have been was not an issue, and no conclusions were made about the absence or presence of bias in news stories.

Stempel's study of the 1960 campaign concluded that although the Democrats received better news coverage than the Republicans, the margin was slight. Only five of the papers were more than five percent away from a fifty-fifty split of coverage of the major parties.[10] His 1964 study showed almost equal space for both parties when the papers were taken as a group.[11] The 1968 campaign featured a strong third-party candidate. Four of the fifteen prestige papers surveyed gave the third-party campaign about as much coverage as the Republican and Democratic campaigns. Coverage by the other eleven newspapers indicated they did not consider it a major campaign. However, coverage of the major parties again was almost equal.[12] The study was resumed for the 1980 campaign and found that Democrats and Republicans received nearly the same amount of coverage, although for the first time Republicans had an edge.[13]

Studies of presidential election coverage in two states indicated similar patterns of comparable coverage. A study of fourteen Wisconsin daily newspapers during the 1952 campaign showed the two major parties received nearly the same amount of space on page one. The Eisenhower campaign was mentioned more often in major headlines and news pictures.[14] Thirty-four Florida dailies also were analyzed for coverage of the 1952 campaign. In the number of news stories, nineteen favored the Democrats and thirteen the Republicans, with two neutral. Yet headlines favored the Republicans over the Democrats by a small percentage.[15] Overall, these studies and Stempel's analyses of coverage by prestige newspapers of several presidential elections indicated that nearly equal space often was the norm for two-party coverage in the latter half of the century.

This study of Ohio newspaper coverage sought to determine if the same could be said of the Cox-Harding campaign. Two hypotheses guided this content analysis. Hypothesis 1 was that the campaigns did not receive equal amounts of space in news columns, and that differences would be more than five percent away from a fifty-fifty split of coverage. Hypothesis 2 was that campaign stories also did not receive equal display in newspaper pages, and that differences again would vary by more than five percent. Both hypotheses were considered in the context of the newspapers' political leanings. The Cox-owned Dayton Daily News and Springfield Daily News and the Harding-owned Marion Star were not studied. A previous analysis indicated that, as one might expect, they heavily favored their owners.[16]

The sample of newspapers chosen for study includes those in large cities and small towns, all regions of the state, and those with Republican, Democratic, and independent political leanings.[17] The Republican papers studied were the Akron Beacon Journal, the Athens Messenger, the Scioto Gazette (now the Chillicothe Gazette), the Sandusky Register, and the Toledo Blade. The Democratic papers were the Cincinnati Enquirer, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the Fremont Daily Messenger, the Lancaster Daily Eagle, and the Youngstown Vindicator. Two independent papers were studied, the Columbus Evening Dispatch and the New Philadelphia Daily Times. Cities that had populations under 25,000 at the time of the election were Athens, Chillicothe, Fremont, Lancaster, New Philadelphia, and Sandusky. The remaining cities included the state's five largest -- Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Columbus, and Akron.[18]

Issues from September 1 through November 2 were studied. Campaigns in the early part of the twentieth century did not have uniform beginnings. The candidates accepted their nominations during notification ceremonies at their hometowns, not at the party conventions. Harding's acceptance speech came in Marion on July 31, and Cox delivered his acceptance speech in Dayton on August 7. The final nine weeks of the campaign were chosen for study because both campaigns were well under way by September 1; evaluation of coverage for the campaigns would not be affected by the burst of publicity that surrounded the kickoff of a campaign; and the last nine weeks were critical to the campaigns.

The methodology of the content analysis was similar to that of the Stempel studies, which focused on space measurement and headline classification. Editorials and signed columns were excluded. Only stories directly related to the Cox or Harding campaigns were counted. Each article was classified as Democrat, Republican, or neutral based on the source and topic of the story. A story was classified as neutral if it included activities and statements from both campaigns. Relatively few news stories were classified as neutral. Newspapers seldom published roundup stories that gave equal treatment to both candidates. Congressional hearings about campaign expenditures were classified as neutral because, while they pertained to the campaign, they involved both parties to a nearly equal degree. Most of the neutral coverage was in the form of stories and tables regarding polls, which some of the large newspapers (particularly the Columbus Evening Dispatch and the Cincinnati Enquirer) published nearly every day.

Stories were coded for placement, either on page one or inside. Each story was measured to an eighth of an inch and logged by column inches. Since newspapers differed in column width, formulas for words per inch based on inches per one hundred words were used to estimate words per story. For example, one hundred words in the Akron Beacon Journal filled about 1.5 column inches. A standard of fifty words per inch was used to make comparisons. Stories that were continued to inside pages were counted as separate stories because they could have received different headline treatment.

Headlines also were classified to reflect differences in display. Newspapers had different page styles; some used multi-column headlines while others preferred multi-deck heads in single columns. To account for the range of display in each newspaper for purposes of comparison with all papers surveyed, four general classifications -- A, B, C, and D -- were used for each paper. Class A headlines were those that took up the largest amount of space, such as eight-column banner headlines and one-column, seven-deck headlines. Class D headlines were those that took up the smallest amount of space, usually one-column headlines without decks. An appendix shows the headline types used by each newspaper and how they were classified.

Findings

Among the twelve papers studied, the Cincinnati Enquirer devoted the most space to campaign news. The 848 stories on page one and inside pages totaled 6,978 inches in the Enquirer. The second highest amount of coverage was by the Youngstown Vindicator, which published 543 stories taking up 4,800 inches. The Cleveland Plain Dealer was third with 450 stories and 4,483 inches, and the Columbus Evening Dispatch was fourth with 523 stories and 4,027 inches. The top three newspapers were Democratic while the Evening Dispatch was independent.

Among papers published in towns with populations less than 25,000, the Sandusky Register published the most campaign news. The Register filled 1,577 column inches with 288 stories. The Athens Messenger published 250 stories of 1,110 inches. Both papers were Republican. The smallest amount of campaign news appeared in the New Philadelphia Daily Times, an independent, which used 684 inches for 138 stories.

The content analysis supported the first hypothesis, that the campaigns of Cox and Harding did not receive similar amounts of coverage. Table 1 shows the amount of coverage each newspaper devoted to the Republican and Democratic campaigns on page one and inside pages. In four of the five Democratic papers, the Cox campaign received more space on page one than the Harding campaign. All five papers gave Cox more coverage on inside pages. The five Republican papers devoted more space on page one as well as inside their editions to the Harding campaign. In the case of the two independent newspapers, the Cox campaign received more space than the Harding campaign on both front and inside pages.

The second hypothesis, that campaign stories would not receive similar display, was affirmed by tabulating the number of major and minor headlines the stories were given. Table 2 shows the distribution of headlines. Every Republican paper gave the Harding campaign more major headlines than the Cox campaign. The Athens Messenger did not devote a single major headline to the Democrats, and the Scioto Gazette and the Toledo Blade gave the Republicans seven times as many major headlines as the Democrats. The Democratic papers, on the other hand, gave more major headlines to the Cox campaign. The Cincinnati Enquirer and the Youngstown Vindicator placed major headlines on nearly twice as many Democratic stories as Republican. The distribution of major headlines among the campaigns was nearly even in the Lancaster Daily Eagle. The independent papers split on the matter of major headlines. The Evening Dispatch gave the Democrats six and the Republicans four while the Daily Times gave the Republicans five and the Democrats four.

Percentages of space devoted to each party, shown in Table 3, indicated more clearly the uneven nature of coverage in the twelve newspapers studied. All five Democratic papers gave more space to the Cox campaign; all five Republican papers gave more space to the Harding campaign. The independent papers gave more space to the Democrats, although the differences in the Daily Times and the Evening Dispatch were among the smaller variances in the twelve newspapers. The Daily Times gave the Democrats 46 percent of its coverage and the Republicans 41, a difference of 5 percent. The difference in the Evening Dispatch was 8 percent, with 31 percent to the Democrats and 23 percent to the Republicans.

The largest disparity among the papers studied was in the Akron Beacon Journal. The Republican campaign received 81 percent of the campaign news published, and the Democrats received 11 percent, a difference of 70 percent. The smallest difference among Republican papers was in the Sandusky Register, which devoted 62 percent of its campaign news to the Republicans and 23 percent to the Democrats, a difference of 39 percent. Among the Democratic papers, the widest margin appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer. The Cox campaign received 49 percent of the news published and the Harding campaign 26 percent, a difference of 23 percent. The Cleveland Plain Dealer showed a 6 percent variance, with the Democrats receiving 45 percent of the coverage and the Republicans 39 percent.

Conclusions

In terms of journalism in the latter half of the twentieth century, coverage of the 1920 campaign by most of these Ohio newspapers fell short of giving readers news of both campaigns. The space provided for each campaign seldom was balanced and often was so different that it seems one campaign was almost ignored. A similar conclusion is supported by the display the stories received. Stories about one candidate usually were on the front page while the opposing candidate often was mentioned in passing on inside pages under average-size headlines.

Determining whether the content of the news stories was slanted was not a part of the study. However, bias is not confined to the way a story is written. How much news is published and where in the paper it is placed, which was the focus of the content analysis, can be just as revealing about the presence of bias. The Independent touched on this point in an article published in April 1920: "You do not need to denounce a candidate to destroy him; all you need to do is to keep him out of the papers. . . . The power of the press is, then, the power to shape opinion by the presentation, emphasis, suppression, explanation or distortion of facts."[19] Historian Frederick Lewis Allen, writing in 1922, agreed with that assessment. "News," he wrote, "may also be colored in the process of selection as well as in that of presentation."[20]

The twelve Ohio newspapers studied for coverage of the Harding-Cox campaign obviously did not pursue a policy of balanced coverage in terms of space and display. When they did report the activities of the opposing candidate, it was not on par with that of the favored campaigner. Coverage of presidential campaigns by the elite press has been nearly equal since 1960, but the 1920 campaign coverage in Ohio was partisan.

TABLE 1A
Column Inches* Devoted to the 1920 Presidential Campaign, Sept. 1 to Nov. 2
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

DEMOCRATIC	Page 1			Inside			Total		
	D	R	N	D	R	N	D	R	N
Cincinnati Enquirer	888	786	88	2,534	1,033	1,649	3,422	1,819	1,737
Cleveland Plain Dealer	391	419	249	1,605	1,324	495	1,996	1,743	744
Fremont Daily Messenger	446	310	118	68	59	34	514	369	152
Lancaster Daily Eagle	354	279	109	86	12	0	440	291	109
Youngstown Vindicator	665	379	235	1,810	1,144	567	2,475	1,523	802

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* rounded to the nearest inch

TABLE 18
Column Inches* Devoted to the 1920 Presidential Campaign, Sept. 1 to Nov. 2
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

REPUBLICAN	Page 1			Inside			Total		
	D	R	N	D	R	N	D	R	N
Akron Beacon Journal	80	623	105	121	862	44	201	1,485	149
Athens Messenger	147	521	104	94	189	55	241	710	159
Sandusky Register	278	624	158	82	352	83	360	976	241
Scioto Gazette	128	390	136	108	590	39	236	980	175
Toledo Blade	72	414	106	385	1,334	152	457	1,748	258

INDEPENDENT	Page 1			Inside			Total		
	D	R	N	D	R	N	D	R	N
Columbus Evening Dispatch	244	184	140	1,015	742	1,702	1,259	926	1,842
New Phila. Daily Times	258	239	69	54	42	22	312	281	91

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* rounded to the nearest inch

TABLE 1C
Column Inches* Devoted to the 1920 Presidential Campaign, Sept. 1 to Nov. 2
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

DEMOCRATIC	Total Column Inches
Cincinnati Enquirer	6,978
Cleveland Plain Dealer	4,483
Fremont Daily Messenger	1,035
Lancaster Daily Eagle	840
Youngstown Vindicator	4,800
REPUBLICAN	
Akron Beacon Journal	1,835
Athens Messenger	1,110
Sandusky Register	1,577
Scioto Gazette	1,391
Toledo Blade	2,463
INDEPENDENT	
Columbus Evening Dispatch	4,027
New Phila. Daily Times	684

* rounded to the nearest inch

TABLE 2A

Distribution of Headlines for 1920 Campaign Stories

(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

DEMOCRATIC	Class A			Class B			Class C			Class D		
	D	R	N	D	R	N	D	R	N	D	R	N
Cincinnati	52	30	13	24	28	67	20	23	120	247	135	89
Cleveland	5	2	8	40	39	24	101	89	31	53	43	15
Fremont	4	1	0	25	21	7	17	18	2	19	20	3
Lancaster	13	11	2	10	3	4	8	12	4	35	42	6
Youngstown	15	8	12	65	32	16	129	83	11	93	56	23

TABLE 2B
Distribution of Headlines for 1920 Campaign Stories
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

REPUBLICAN	Class A			Class B			Class C			Class D		
Akron	1	5	2	3	45	5	11	73	7	30	67	11
Athens	0	12	1	2	20	4	62	71	20	13	31	14
Sandusky	8	28	9	5	25	8	30	60	10	37	55	13
Scioto	3	21	5	3	28	9	15	47	4	42	55	8
Toledo	3	22	7	7	33	3	34	90	13	19	52	11

INDEPENDENT	Class A			Class B			Class C			Class D		
Columbus	6	4	8	75	59	109	57	59	4	68	57	17
New Phil	4	5	1	26	25	9	6	5	0	23	17	17

TABLE 2C
Distribution of Headlines for 1920 Campaign Stories
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

DEMOCRATIC		Total	
	D	R	N
Cincinnati Enquirer	343	216	289
Cleveland Plain Dealer	199	173	78
Fremont Daily Messenger	65	60	12
Lancaster Daily Eagle	66	68	16
Youngstown Vindicator	302	179	62

REPUBLICAN		Total	
	D	R	N
Akron Beacon Journal	45	190	25
Athens Messenger	77	134	39
Sandusky Register	80	168	40
Scioto Gazette	63	102	26
Toledo Blade	63	197	34

INDEPENDENT		Total	
	D	R	N
Columbus Evening Dispatch	206	179	138
New Phila. Daily Times	59	52	27

TABLE 3
Percentage of Space For Each Party in the 1920 Presidential Campaign
(D-Democratic; R-Republican; N-Neutral)

	D	R	N
DEMOCRATIC PAPERS			
Cincinnati Enquirer	49	26	25
Cleveland Plain Dealer	45	39	16
Fremont Daily Messenger	50	36	14
Lancaster Daily Eagle	52	35	13
Youngstown Vindicator	52	32	16
REPUBLICAN PAPERS			
Akron Beacon Journal	11	81	8
Athens Messenger	22	64	14
Sandusky Register	23	62	15
Scioto Gazette	17	70	13
Toledo Blade	19	71	10
INDEPENDENT PAPERS			
Columbus Evening Dispatch	31	23	46
New Phila. Daily Times	46	41	13

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17. See Stephen Gutgesell, ed., _Guide to Ohio Newspapers, 1793-1973_ (Columbus, Ohio: Watkins Printing Co., 1976), for listings of Ohio newspapers and their political leanings.

18. See _Population, Composition and Characteristics of the Population by States_, vol. 3 of _Fourteenth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1920_, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), pp. 784-92.

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APPENDIX

The following is a list of headline classifications for each newspaper. The classifications were formed to make comparisons of the display stories received in newspapers with different designs.

Two sets of figures are listed in each class for the Sandusky Register, which changed from a seven-column format to eight columns on October 5, 1920.

DEMOCRATIC PAPERS

Cincinnati Enquirer
Class A -- One column with seven decks.
Class B -- One column with five decks; three columns.
Class C -- One column with two decks; two columns.
Class D -- One column.

Cleveland Plain Dealer
Class A -- Eight columns.
Class B -- One column with three decks; two columns.
Class C -- One column with one to two decks.
Class D -- One column.

Fremont Daily Messenger
Class A -- Three and two columns.
Class B -- One column with three decks.
Class C -- One column with one deck.
Class D -- One column.

Lancaster Daily Eagle
Class A -- One column with seven decks.
Class B -- Two columns.
Class C -- One column with two to three decks.
Class D -- One column with one or no decks.

Youngstown Vindicator
Class A -- Eight columns.
Class B -- Two columns; one column with three decks.
Class C -- One column with one to two decks.
Class D -- One column.

REPUBLICAN PAPERS

Akron Beacon Journal
Class A -- Eight columns.
Class B -- Four to two columns; one column with two decks.
Class C -- One column with one deck.
Class D -- One column.

Athens Messenger
Class A -- Eight to six columns.
Class B -- Five to two columns.
Class C -- One column with one deck.
Class D -- One column.

Sandusky Register

Class A -- Seven, three, and two columns (before October 5); eight and seven columns.

Class B -- One column with one deck (before October 5); four and three columns.

Class C -- One column (before October 5); two columns, one column with one deck.

Class D -- One column in fourteen-point type (before and after October 5).

Scioto Gazette

Class A -- Eight to four columns; two columns with two decks.

Class B -- Three and two columns; one column with three decks.

Class C -- One column with one deck.
Class D -- One column.

Toledo Blade
Class A -- Five to two columns.
Class B -- One column with three decks.
Class C -- One column with one deck.
Class D -- One column.

INDEPENDENT PAPERS

Columbus Evening Dispatch
Class A -- Eight and seven columns.
Class B -- Five to two columns; one column with three decks.
Class C -- One column with one deck.
Class D -- One column.

New Philadelphia Daily Times
Class A -- Two columns with one or three decks.
Class B -- One column with three decks.

Class C -- Two columns; one column with two decks.
Class D -- One column.

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Truth and Jimmy Carter: The 1976 Presidential Campaign

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Truth and Jimmy Carter: The 1976 Presidential Campaign

"Can our government be honest, decent, open, fair and compassionate?" That is the question addressed by Jimmy Carter in his 1975 book, Why Not the Best?, published just one year before becoming the 39th President of the United States. Carter wrote that millions of Americans had been asking that same question. They wondered whether it could be answered in the affirmative.[1]

Those issues of honesty, truth and fairness in government set the agenda for the 1976 Presidential election and Jimmy Carter's victory to the White House. It was a time of soul searching and mistrust in government for many Americans that began more than a decade before Carter ever jumped into Washington's political arena.

HISTORICAL SETTING

The assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963 put Lyndon Johnson at the helm of the United States. Just a year later, Johnson increased U.S. military personnel in Vietnam. By 1965, the United States was even more deeply involved in Vietnam. U.S. planes bombed North Vietnam and troops increased to more than 180,000 by the end of the year. By 1968, troop strength had grown to 500,000.

Many influences led Johnson to such a policy -- among them his staunch stand against communism. These qualities also led him to intervene militarily in the Dominican Republic -- allegedly to stop a Communist takeover in April 1965.[2] But many Americans questioned Johnson's policies and Vietnam. And for some, those questions were never answered.

Donna Demac author of Liberty Denied summarized the situation well:

> "In the 1960's the covert and overt aspect of United States foreign policy came together in Vietnam. For many years, the full extent of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia was kept secret from the American people, and even once the country was clearly at war--though Congress never issued a formal declaration--military leaders tightly controlled information about its course."[3]

Some even speculated that the lack of information was due to military secrecy; but, few Americans bought that idea either. Sissela Bok wrote in Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life, that the immense toll of life and human welfare from the United States' intervention in Vietnam came at least in part from channeled, overly optimistic information to the decision-makers.[4] "Deceiving the people for the sake of the people is a self-contradictory notion in a democracy, unless it can be shown that there has been genuine consent to deceit. The actions of President Johnson were therefore inconsistent with the most basic principle of our political system."[5]

Like many Americans who recalled the "appeasement" of Nazi Germany in the 1930's, Johnson thought the United States must be firm or incur a loss of credibility.[6] But, Americans didn't trust Johnson's reasoning. Instead, his actions led to further deterioration of trust in America's leadership. It was a mistrust in government that continued past the Johnson era.

On June 17, 1972, the arrest of five burglars who broke into the Democratic National committee headquarters at the Watergate office building in Washington, D.C. later became known as "Watergate."

Amid that scandal, on October 10, 1973, Nixon's Vice-President Spiro T. Agnew, resigned in exchange for his freedom. He was under investigation in connection with a kickback scandal that had occurred when he was a county executive and governor in Maryland. Eventually, Agnew "plea-bargained to save his skin, agreeing to plead nolo contendere to a single count of tax evasion (although Justice had him on much more) in return for a suspended sentence."[7]

Less than a year later, for the first time in American history, a U.S. Chief Executive stepped down from office. August 9, 1974, Nixon, resigned after releasing three tapes, admitting he originated plans to have the FBI stop its probe of the Watergate break-in for political as well as national security reasons. Immediately following Nixon's resignation, Vice-President Gerald R. Ford was sworn in as the 38th President of the United States. Less than one month later, Ford granted an unconditional pardon to ex-President Nixon for all federal crimes that he "committed or may have committed" while president.

Many Americans wondered how truth and honesty could ever be brought back into the White House. In Liberty Denied, Donna Demac wrote, "Among the central issues of the Watergate scandal that brought the Nixon administration to an end were secrecy, censorship (in the form of 'dirty tricks'), and the consolidation of power in the executive branch."[8]

This time of mistrust in government and its leaders set the stage for the 1976 presidential campaign--an historic era that Carter used to his full political advantage. Truth thus became a foundation for his political agenda. "If I ever tell a lie, if I ever mislead you, if I ever betray a trust or confidence, I want you to come and take me out of the White House,"[9] he said.

In his memoirs, Carter explained his reasoning:

> "As an American, I had been embarrassed by the Watergate scandal and the forced resignation of the President. I realized that my own election had been aided by a deep desire among the people for open government, based on a new and fresh commitment to changing some of the Washington habits which had made it possible for the American people to be misled. Because of President Ford's pardon of Nixon, Watergate had been a largely unspoken though ever-present campaign issue, and the bitter visions and personal tragedies of those recent events could not quickly be forgotten."[10]

The American public had not forgotten. In 1976, Watergate and Ford's pardon of Nixon were imponderables. To add to the complexity of this era of mistrust of leadership, the country was going through the beginnings of "stagflation"-- rising rates of unemployment and inflation. According to the authors of Presidential Elections: Contemporary Strategies of American Electoral Politics, "Public reactions to current conditions may have decided the election."[11]

This case study, "Truth and Jimmy Carter, the 1976 Presidential Campaign," examines how truth became an integral issue during that election -- an issue that put Carter in the White House. That hypothesis is documented through print and broadcast media accounts of the campaign including the New York Times, and the television index of the Vanderbilt Archives including the three major networks, ABC, CBS and NBC.

THEORETICAL ORIGINS OF TRUTH

To examine truth, we must reflect on its theoretical background.

First Amendment theory is traditionally based on the "marketplace of ideas" model which can be found in John Milton's Areopagitica, the writings of John Locke and Thomas Jefferson, John Stuart Mill's On Liberty, and Oliver Wendell Holmes' opinion in Abrams v. United States. Such theoretical origins allow a marketplace for free expression so that truth can prevail.

To Milton, truth prevailed in a "free and open encounter." It had the unique powers of survival when permitted to assert itself. Milton argued, "Let truth and falsehood grapple; whoever knew truth to be worse in a free and open encounter... Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibit, to misdoubt her strength."[12]

Although in Areopagitica, Milton did not use these exact words, out of his work developed the contemporary concepts of "the open marketplace of ideas" and the "self-righting principle." Let all with something to say be free to express themselves. The true and sound will survive; the false and unsound will vanish.

In the late 17th century, the political philosophy of John Locke advanced the marketplace concept. Locke's natural rights philosophy elevated individual liberty above the state. Locke believed that everyone is capable of finding and knowing truth through the process of reason, experiment, and observation. His philosophy provided a foundation for linking individual liberty with the political process in maintaining the sovereignty of the people over the representatives they elect to govern on their behalf.[13]

Influenced by the works of Locke, Thomas Jefferson accepted the natural rights philosophy. Locke's influence is seen in the wording of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. In the Declaration of Independence, it is written, "That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed..." The First Amendment in which Jefferson and James Madison collaborated states, "Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech or of the press..."

In the mid 19th century, John Stuart Mill advanced the marketplace concept by outlining the individual and societal values of free expression in his classic argument in support of freedom. In On Liberty, Milton gave four basic justifications for freedom of speech:

> "First, if any opinion is compelled to silence, that opinion may, for aught we can certainly know, be true...Secondly, though the silenced opinion be an error, it may... contain a portion of truth... Thirdly, even if the received opinion be not only true, but the whole truth; unless it is...Vigorously and earnestly contested, it will...be held in the manner of prejudice, with little comprehension or feeling of its rational grounds... Fourthly, the meaning of the doctrine itself will be in danger of being lost, or enfeebled, and deprived of its vital effect on the character and conduct; the dogma becoming a mere formal profession... preventing the growth of any real and heartfelt conviction, from reason or personal experience."[14]

It wasn't until 1919 that Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes strengthened the marketplace of ideas metaphor to its full formulation when he used that term to describe and defend freedom of expression. In his dissenting opinion in the case of Abrams v. United States, Holmes wrote, "The ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas--that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market..."[15] Holmes further linked free discussion and debate with the political process and offered the legal doctrine of the First Amendment as protection for free expression.

Within this theoretical framework, Carter's quest for an open and honest government is evident in his campaign for president. By allowing personal and public truths to enter the marketplace of ideas, Carter establishes his campaign as a calling for the return to a government as expressed by Milton, Locke, Jefferson, Madison, Mill and Holmes.

As governor of Georgia, Carter is best remembered for his liberal views on race and other social issues, and his streamlining of the state bureaucracy, slashing 300 boards, bureaus and agencies to a manageable 22.[16] But just two years into that post, in 1972, Carter met Nixon, Spiro Agnew, George McGovern, Ronald Reagan and other presidential hopefuls. Carter said, "I lost my feeling of awe about presidents."[17] At that point, Carter began seriously considering a presidential run.

It wasn't until December 12, 1974, that Carter officially announced his bid for the presidency.[18] Carter said:

> "Recently we have discovered that our trust has been betrayed. The veils of secrecy have seemed to thicken around Washington. The purposes and goals of our country are uncertain and sometimes even suspect. Our people are understandably concerned about this lack of competence and integrity...It is obvious that the best way for our leaders to restore their credibility is to be credible, and in order for us to be trusted we must be trustworthy!"[19]

With that announcement, Carter, himself, was calling for a different kind of government from the past. It was a personal agenda to change what he did not like in government; and, one that the American people would soon select for their very own.

RUNNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY

In 1976, the bicentennial year, the choice was between James Earle Carter, the "outsider" and an "insider," Gerald R. Ford, Richard Nixon's choice and replacement. The 52-year-old Carter was a former peanut farmer, naval officer, and one-term Governor of Georgia with no experience in Washington. "He was, in fact, so obscure when he entered the presidential race in December 1974 that people asked: "Jimmy who?""[20]

TELEVISION

With television, the American people soon learned who the Georgia peanut farmer was, and what his message was all about.

"...Television was once friend and enemy to Carter in the 1976 campaign. It made his face and voice familiar to millions of voters who had never heard of him, and it established his image as a man of the people, coming as a born-again Christian to rescue them from the Washington devils."[21]

But, during Carter and Ford's first televised debate on September 23, 1976, when the sound went dead for twenty-seven minutes, media scholars John Tebbel and Sarah Miles wrote, "Carter's stiffness and lack of informality were painfully evident in that embarrassing interval."[22] However, those closest to the Carter campaign continued to believe television could be used to Carter's advantage.

Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, believed the press could help Carter gain "name recognition and give some depth to his new national image."[23] He said, "Jimmy Carter is a natural on television." John Chancellor wrote, "The Carter style is the smile and the dagger."[24] He added that when Carter is on camera, his broad wide smile appears. Television advertising consultant, Tony Schwartz called the dagger Carter's ability to almost play act with the camera as if he were sitting in a living room with his audience.[25] Author and former television news network executive, Sig Mickelson said, "The candidate who knows how to project to the camera has a better chance than the neophyte or the slow learner or the dull and spiritless plodder."[26]

During the 1976 campaign, Carter sought both broadcast and print media, though, to maximize his message of an open and honest government. Carter and his staff knew early on that they could not expect national press attention until they had shown some progress in the political sphere. Therefore, they sought to maximize local news coverage. Jody Powell, who worked with media for his campaign said:

> "I would suspect that we concentrate more heavily on the local media than anybody else does, if for no other reason than...the national media... is not there for us. We've got to do the best we can...I have a feeling just from some of the candidates' schedules that I've seen that even amongst folks like us who can't command the national media attention, that we're still placing more emphasis on the local media than they are."[27]

Carter's use of the media reveals how truth and an open, honest government became issues during his campaign.

ISSUES OF TRUTH

One issue that plagued Carter early in the campaign and received front page play was his announcement that the "Federal Government should not take the initiative to change the 'ethnic purity' of some urban neighborhoods or the economic 'homogeneity' of well-to-do suburbs."[28] On April 7, Carter said, "I'm not going to use the Federal Government's authority deliberately to circumvent the natural inclination of people to live in ethnically homogenous neighborhoods." In making his point, he used, blunt language about social differences. For example, he used phrases such as "black intrusion" into white neighborhoods. He spoke of 'alien groups' in communities, and of the bad effects of "injecting" a "diametrically opposite kind of family or "a different kind of person into a neighborhood."

It is obvious by his language that Carter "told it as it was." But, just two days following his campaign speech in Indiana, Carter's open and blunt tone was highly criticized. On April 9, Carter issued an apology which once again received front page coverage for using the phrase "ethnic purity." Although he stuck to his original basic position, saying he would not "arbitrarily use Federal force" to change a neighborhood's ethnic character. The apology notwithstanding, such references as "black intrusion" and "alien groups" left a haunting air over Carter's campaign.[29] An editorial published that same day questioned whether Carter's apology represented "sincere repentance" or a "quick retreat under pressure."[30] Here, the media questioned whether the candidate who was running on an open and honest government was actually being honest in his reasons for an apology.

His statement was criticized even more sharply in interviews on the 3 major networks.[31] Senator Henry Jackson, on CBS, said Carter talks to different groups in different ways. Others interviewed on NBC said Carter will be explaining his remark for a long time. However, the day following his apology, Carter set his own agenda and turned the "ethnic purity" issue around.

On April 9, in an ABC interview, Carter said the other major candidates have taken the same position regarding neighborhood integration. CBS showed Senator Henry Jackson and Representative Morris Udall having trouble commenting on their own stand. CBS even reported Jackson's views as being similar to Carter's.[32]

The ethnic purity debate continued for the following week; however, Carter didn't try to hide behind the issue. On April 14, at a meeting the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he said he didn't feel like he was hurt by the statement, but the term itself was obnoxious.[33] And, confronting the issues head-on was apparently what the American public wanted to hear.

By April 14, an NBC news poll showed his support increasing.[34] Although a CBS/New York Times poll showed Ford beating any opponent, his only threat was Jimmy Carter.[35] An ABC poll specifically addressing the "ethnic purity" issue showed more than one third of the Democrats interviewed said he was more right than wrong to have made the remark. Less than a third said he was wrong. Just over 40 percent interviewed said they weren't sure.[36]

In less than three weeks, by April 26, the "ethnic purity" issue was over with apparently no damage to Carter's campaign call for an open and honest government. In fact, by April 27, a CBS/New York Times Poll, showed Carter leading on presidential qualities of "honesty."[37]

Truth and an open and honest government continued to be at the top of Carter's political agenda. As another example, on April 30, a Republican national committee worker, Jay Pike, was refused permission to board Carter's campaign plane. NBC reported that Pike asked how can the Republican magazine, First Monday, write a truthful story without an interview. Carter's press secretary replied that it would be different if he thought the magazine would write a truthful story on Carter or any Democrat.[38] Nevertheless, Pike was allowed to get on the plane since his luggage was already aboard.

The campaign began to heat up once again in July at the Democratic National Convention in New York. The Democrats played on the negatives of Nixon and Watergate to try to win back the White House. "Jimmy Carter pledged that he never would tut-tut aloud about Watergate as a way to supplant President Ford in the White House."[39] But Carter's fellow Democrats still chose to kick Nixon around to get at his successor.

At the convention, Carter said, it is time for the people to run the government.[40] Democrats said the theme of Carter's speech was an end to dishonest government. On July 16, Carter's Vice-Presidential running mate, Walter Mondale, said the country is now led by a president who pardoned the person responsible for the worst political scandal in the United States.

Just three days following Mondale's remarks, at a news conference, President Ford said he granted Nixon a pardon in the national interest.[41] Whether the pardon became a campaign issue was "up to the American people." He said, he "would do it (pardon) again."[42] The pardon issue was far from over.

On July 21, Carter's first formal news conference since accepting the Democratic Presidential nomination, Carter said, he disagreed with the pardon of Mr. Nixon's "inevitable conviction" in an "open trial." While contending he did not "criticize President Ford for the pardon," he termed it "improper or ill-advised." Carter said truth would prevail if the case were laid out for everyone to see and hear. He explained, "Had I been President, I would not have pardoned President Nixon until after the trial had been completed in order to let all the facts relating to his crimes be known."[43]

Isn't that what Milton argued when he said. "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously be licensing and prohibit, to misdoubt her strength?" In his campaign, Carter, was calling like Milton to have truth prevail in an open marketplace of ideas. By silencing Nixon before his trial, the public would never know the truth.

On August 11, 1976, the Republicans met in Kansas City for their national convention. While the Grand Ole Party was selecting their presidential nominee, Carter was pushing his political agenda to 4,000 members of the American Bar Association in Atlanta. The message, once again, centered around the nation's morality and justice, and openness and honesty in government in the post Watergate era.[44] Carter accused the Ford

Administration of "failing to restore public confidence in the Government in the aftermath of the Watergate scandals.[45] He omitted, as he said he would, any direct reference to Ford's pardon of Nixon. However, from his remarks about the crimes of public officials, he allowed his audience to draw its own conclusions.

The direct criticism of Ford was left to Carter's Vice-Presidential running mate. As before, Mondale campaigned criticizing the Ford and Nixon administrations.[46]

In addition to Watergate, Nixon's secrecy, Ford's pardon of him, and the ethnic purity issue, truth found its way in the 1976 campaign on even more personal terms. On September 2, 1976, in an interview with Rosalynn Carter, she said that her sons had told her that they had tried marijuana. She said she didn't worry as long as they told her.[47] It is apparent that both Jimmy and Rosalynn regarded truth as the ultimate moral ideal. And, the American public seemed satisfied when they got it.

It was these issues of truth, honesty and an open government that set Carter's political agenda in his campaign -- an agenda that obviously helped him win the White House. In all three presidential debates, September 23, October 6 and October 22, the American people once again heard Carter's call for an honest, open and fair government. While Ford spoke in support of his pardon of Nixon, Carter rebutted it:

> "We've got a short distinction between white collar crime. The big shots who are rich, or influential very seldom go to jail; those who are poor and who have no influence quite often are the ones who are punished.

> And the whole subject of crime is one that concerns our people very much and I believe that the fairness of it is a major problem that addresses our lead and this is something that hasn't been addressed adequately by this Administration."[48]

In the second debate, Carter called for an open government. When asked how he would bring the American people into the decision making process in foreign policy, Carter answered, "First of all, quit conducting the decision-making process in secret, as has been a characteristic of Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Ford. In many instances, we've made an agreement, like in Vietnam, that has been revealed later on to our embarrassment."[49]

October 22, 1976, in the final debate between the two presidential candidates, Carter brought up the apparent mistrust in public officials since the 1960's.[50] For example, when asked why the low voter turnout, Carter replied that in the aftermath of Vietnam and Cambodia and Watergate and the C.I.A. revelations, people feel as if they've been betrayed by public officials.

VICTORY

On November 2, 1976, "Carter won the narrowest victory in the Electoral College since 1916: 297 vote to 241. Less than two million popular votes, 2 percent of the total, separated the winner from the loser."[51]

Carter's victory marked a triumph, though, for the concept of truth. In Jimmy Carter, The Man and the Myth, Victor Lasky wrote:

> "Somehow he managed to convince the electorate in 1976 that he represented all the saintly virtues essential in the quintessential post-Watergate politician --

> honesty, integrity, decency and probity. Judgement was so nullified by Watergate that Jimmy managed to pull it off. Much of the media, too, wanted to root for someone who was palpably not Richard Nixon; and Carter assured all and sundry he was not."[52]

Carter was the leader that he, himself, believed the United States needed. He planned to head the country being honest, decent, open and fair. It was exactly how he had run his campaign. Truth was utmost and because he personified the metaphor, he was what Americans wanted in their president.

As Carter said in his inaugural address,

> "The American dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country--and in one another. I believe America can be better. We can be even stronger than before. Let our recent mistakes bring a resurgent commitment to the basic principles of our Nation, for we know that if we despise our own government, we have no future."[53]

And with those words, Carter answered his own question from his 1975 novel: Can our government be honest, decent, open, fair and compassionate?

His campaign was his response. Carter brought a message of truth and openness in government that the American people were calling for. It was a theme developed out of First Amendment Theory calling for a marketplace for free expression so that truth can prevail -- a message that put the peanut farmer from Georgia in the White House.

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The Carter Presidency and the National Press: Grappling with the Process of Truth

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The Carter Presidency and the National Press: Grappling with the Process of Truth

When Jimmy Carter was elected president of the United States on Nov. 2, 1976, he had defeated sitting president Gerald Ford with a campaign of an open, honest government. Garter had said that he would never lie to the public.[1] He had set the tone for his presidency when, in March 1976, he told a Florida crowd that he would never lie to the American people: "If I ever tell a lie, if I ever mislead you, if I ever betray a trust or confidence, I want you to come and take me out of the White House."[2]

After 11 years of covering a government shrouded in secrecy by Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, you would think that the members of the national press would welcome an open line of communication as much as the voters electing Carter apparently did. The pressure would be on Carter to maintain this campaign promise. If for no other reason, Carter had won the election by a slim margin, 497 electoral votes to 240 and 40.8 million votes to 39.1 million.[3]

This case study will detail the media's coverage of Carter's promised efforts of honest and open government. It will look at the issues as covered in the New York Times and the three television networks: ABC, NBC, and CBS. This study will discuss the First Amendment theories as they apply to an open and honest government, will place Carter's presidency in the historical context in which his message was issued and will discuss the media's coverage of these issues.

First Amendment Theories

The First Amendment to the Constitution is the final product of the theories of John Milton and John Locke, as understood by

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Milton's marketplace of ideas concept and his self-righting principle established a framework in which Jefferson and Madison could write into law the necessity for a free press. Locke's natural rights philosophy is the groundwork for the entire U,S. government: that the people are the sovereign over the government.

In 1644, Milton penned Aeropagitica in reaction to the British Parliament's law requiring licensing fees on all books. Milton argues that all men should have the right to speak in order that truth would emerge by allowing the ideas to be made public. Milton wrote that all ideas, both truth and falsehood, should be allowed to be expressed. Truth would always win because of its superiority over falsehood. This idea became known as the self-righting principle: Truth always wins over falsehood. He also believed it was important to allow falsehood and truth into the marketplace of ideas (a term he never coined) because evil would always be recognizable. If it were not allowed to be published, the determination of what is evil and what is good could not be established.[4]

While Milton's arguments were confined to the upper classes, the literate men of England, Locke, in The Second Treatise of Civil Government, says all people are capable of determining truth for themselves. Locke, in this treatise written in 1691, specifically states that the government exists to serve the individuals of society and that the society play an active role in establishing laws. Thus decrees from the rulers are not tolerated.[5]

In an Essay Concerning Human Understanding, written in 1690, Locke argues that new opinions should not be immediately discarded if at first they appear untrue. Individuals should take time to evaluate the ideas presented and should not be expected to discard their previously held opinions immediately upon hearing the new idea. It is important to create a climate in society allowing all new ideas to be spoken or published.[6]

Jefferson adopted the natural rights philosophy of Locke (that all individuals are sovereign and government exists at the will of the people) when he drafted the Declaration of Independence: "That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed...." In the Bill of Rights, in which Jefferson collaborated with Madison, Milton's influence is felt by the restriction of Congress from making laws restricting freedom of speech or of the press. Jefferson and Madison, thus, elevated the preservation of speakers' rights and the rights of the press into law, making them two of the most protected rights in the new government of the United States. This elevation of the marketplace of ideas allows the people and the press to present or publish all ideas, particularly about government, without recourse by Congress. It allows truth and falsehood to be debated without restraint from the governmental body that makes the laws. It allows the sovereign, the people, to influence and evaluate the government.

John Stuart Mill, in 1859, wrote On Liberty in which he said all ideas, even one at odds with the rest of society, should be vocalized or published.[7] Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1919 issued a dissenting opinion in the Abrams vs. United States case in which he used the marketplace of ideas to explain the importance of speakers' rights in establishing truth. The best test of truth would be its power to be accepted in a competitive marketplace of ideas.[8]

Milton, Locke, Jefferson and Madison established the philosophy of the marketplace of ideas and natural rights as an important part of the new government of the United States. Mill and Holmes expanded the philosophy in their search for establishing truth.

Truth can thus be defined as the process of allowing various viewpoints into the public arena. When applied to governmental actions, truth can be defined as the process allowing an open, robust debate of the issues and problems in a public forum in order for the governed, the people to measure the governors. If this occurs, the people can evaluate the different ideas and viewpoints presented against the final decision of the government. If the people have the knowledge of other alternatives presented to the government and do not like the government's final decision, they can react by electing new governors.

Carter brought this philosophy, whether based upon personal philosophy or political gain, to the public attention in his autobiography in which he outlined his campaign and his goals as president. Two questions he asks are based on these First Amendment theories: "Can our government be honest, decent, open, fair, and compassionate? Can our government be competent?"[9] Carter answered both in the affirmative and used this concept of truth in campaigning against Watergate, Ford's pardon of Nixon, and Vietnam.[10]

Historical Context

Carter came to national prominence and to the presidency at a time of crisis in competent, open government, particularly in the White House. Kennedy's assassination, Johnson's administration (starting with the Tonkin Resolution), the break-in of the Democratic election headquarters, the resignation of Vice President Spiro Agnew, the resignation of President Richard Nixon and the pardon of Nixon before any trial had cast a pall over the government and the leaders chosen by the people. It was a pall Carter took full advantage of, as illustrated in his memoirs:

> "As an American, I had been embarrassed by the Watergate scandal and the forced resignation of the President. I realized that by own election had been aided by a deep desire among the people for open government, based on a new and fresh commitment to changing some of the Washington habits which had made it possible for the American people to be misled. Because of President Ford's pardon of Nixon, Watergate had been a largely unspoken though ever-present campaign issue, and the bitter divisions and personal tragedies of those recent events could not quickly be forgotten."[11]

The crisis in the leadership of government actually began with the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the conspiracy theories that surrounded it. Johnson took the oath of office and within a year, increased the number of U.S. troops from 16,000 to 25,000.[12] This increase came after Johnson reported to the nation and to Congress that a U.S. destroyer had been fired upon in the Gulf of

Tonkin. Johnson also kept from public scrutiny the fact that U.S. bombers were using airfields in Thailand to conduct bombing raids into North Vietnam. Although the North Vietnamese, South Vietnamese, and the Thai people and government knew of these raids, the American public was kept in the dark.

The Nixon administration added tot he credibility gap Johnson began with these deceptions. Nixon's administration crumbled under the weight of Watergate as several of his top aides were indicted and convicted. He ultimately had to resign under the threat of impeachment.

Ford fanned the flames of incompetency in September 1975 when he pardoned Nixon of any wrongdoing, less than two months after taking over for the resigned president.[13]

Journalism during this time period became more critical and a new era of muckraking was introduced -- investigative reporting. The critical culture of American society spawned this new journalism, which culminated with the uncovering of the Watergate story by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, city reporters for the Washington Post.[14]

Thus, the national disgust and mistrust of its leaders combined with a news media reflecting this critical society led to a climate favorable to Carter and his calling for an open, honest government.

Carter's presidency and the national media

Carter's concept of truth appears to be parallel to his ideas of an open government: By allowing open access to his administration, the public would know that their government is thinking and doing. During his first year as president, he kept his promise of open access. During 1977, Carter held 25 formal press conferences, averaging about two per month.[15]

Carter's early intentions were evident in a New York Times article published three weeks before his inauguration. Robert J. Lipshutz, who would become Carter's chief legal adviser in a few weeks, said the new president would open more "lines of access" through interaction with more White House staff members and with direct access to top Cabinet officials and Congressional leaders.[16] Lipshutz also said Carter will make "a positive effort to communicate with a lot of people around the country and receive their opinions and suggestions and have their views get some attention." However, Lipshutz gave no specific details on how to accomplish this goal.[17]

In Carter's inaugural address, the new president vowed to heal the wounds of the recent administrations and called for an open two-way dialogue with the people of the United States:

> "You have given me a great responsibility -- to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes."[18]

Carter showed further access to the people on January 28, 1977, with the announcement of his first televised talk to the nation in which he planned to discuss his goals on domestic and foreign policy in a 20-minute chat.[19]

Six weeks later, on March 5, Carter held a two-hour radio dialogue with the nation, moderated by Walter Cronkite. During the call-in show, Carter spoke with 42 people about their concerns and received several proposals for the nation.[20] Carter said the intent of the unprecedented call-in show was to "reduce the isolation of the presidency," indicating his desires, whether politically motivated or ideologically based, for establishing a true marketplace of ideas.[21]

Carter's call-in show had its critics in the media, however. In a New York Times column on the day after the event, Hedrick Smith questions Carter's motives:

> "Few people question the sincerity of Mr. Carter's efforts to dismantle the 'imperial Presidency' of the Vietnam-Watergate era.... But in Washington, perhaps more than in the country at large, some critics see all this as a shrewd political strategy, and other, more sympathetic to Mr. Carter, wonder how long the more open, common sense Presidential style will last."[22]

Smith said reporters questioned an unnamed White House official about using the call-in show when the president receives thousands of letters that better reflect the public mood. The aide replied that more people, millions, would be listening to the president.[23]

In April, Carter agreed to make public an organ of government that had been shrouded in secrecy since its inception, the Cia. Carter called for the Central Intelligence Agency to disclose its total budget for public scrutiny.[24] In front of a Senate subcommittee, CIA director Stansfield Turner said he was against such disclosure: "There is a natural inclination of any intelligence officer to withhold as much as possible."[25] Turner said the reason the administration was not opposed to full disclosure of the budget was because "the credibility of the intelligence community has been questioned. It's necessary to rebuild that credibility.... We are a free and open society (and) it is appropriate that our citizens be kept as well informed as possible about the activities of their Government."[26] Carter, the Senate and the CIA had to weigh the importance of an open government against the needs of national security. It ultimately would be up to the Congress to approve full disclosure, but Carter's impact on the process was evident and resounding. He was trying to maintain his campaign promise of conducting an open government under the scrutiny of the governed in all aspects of his presidency.

In an editorial, the New York Times argued against disclosure on the grounds that it would do the government, and the CIA, more harm than good.[27]

Newspaper writers also noted Carter's ability at reaching the public through television. In May, Richard Reeves, in the New York Times Magazine, dubbed Carter the "Prime-Time President" because of his masterful, comfortable style on television.[28] Barry Jagoda, Carter's television advisor, said:

> "Television has become a regular part of his life, as natural as anything else in his life. It's not a big deal.... There is no such thing as overexposure on television. You're overexposed when you run out of good ideas on how to use television."[29]

Reeves, however, went on to warn Carter not to come to be judged as a television star or television personality -- their popularity can be fleeting.[30]

J. Anthony Lukas, in the same edition of the New York Times Magazine, says Carter has taken press relations "back to normal" following the previous administrations. However, that came with a price:

> "The high drama of Vietnam and Watergate, credibility gaps and cover-ups, Tet offensives and doctored tapes, has petered out in the daily minutiae of Jimmy Carter's pastel-toned Presidency. This has produced measured, muted -- at times even bland -- White House coverage quite unlike most of what we have known during the past 13 years. But it has also produced enormous frustrations and anxiety with the White House press corps, a malaise that is bound to surface in the months ahead."[31]

Lukas also said reporters, weaned on Watergate, actually believed that they would uncover no major corruption in Carter's administration.[32]

He also confirms that Carter has kept his promise of a press conference every two weeks, giving Washington reporters an unaccustomed, open access to the president. In fact, Lukas claims there might be too much access in that the reporters do not have enough new information or incidents in which to grill the president, which in turn makes it look as if the president is in total control of the news conference and the agenda.[33]

But just two short months later, the first tear in the veneer of Carter's mastery of the press came with the Bert Lance fiasco in July and August 1977. Lance was Carter's director of Management and Budget and a long-time personal friend and business associate from Georgia. Lance brought his troubles with him in the form of suspicious banking practices in Georgia prior to taking the OMB job. One of his deals included a $4.7 million loan to Carter for his family's peanut farm. It was the largest loan at the National Bank of Georgia, headed by Lance. Carter named Lance OMB director despite knowing that Lance was under investigation for his banking practices.[34]

The press reacted. On Aug. 16, 1977, ABC reported that the Senate investigation into the Lance affair would raise ethical questions about Carter into the eyes of the public for the first time.[35] Lance resigned on September 21.

But James Reston, in a New York Times column on September 30, lauded Carter for continuing to be open and honest with the American public and press, even during these crisis times:

> "He promised when elected to have two press conferences a month, come what may, and he has stuck to it. His 16th, after the roughest passage of his nine months in the White House, illustrates the point."[36]

An ABC report on the same day, said the tension in the White House had not been as thick since August 1974 when Nixon resigned. Carter admitted that his credibility had been somewhat damaged and that this was his saddest moment in office.[37] In a CBS report, Carter said some reporters had been biased and unfair, some untrue about the Lance story and admitted that there would be some doubt raised about his credibility.[38]

Carter's ideal of an open, honest government and its relationship with the national media was most evident during his first year as president, as indicated by his keeping his promise to hold a press conferences every two weeks. But he would never match that in subsequent years. In 1978, Carter had 17 formal press conferences.[39] In 1979, he held 10.[40] In 1980, only seven press conferences were held.[41]

An NBC/Associated Press poll broadcast on Feb. 8, 1978, just over one year from inauguration, showed there was an indication of vulnerability for Carter to be re-elected in 1980.[42] Carter's "prime-time president" moniker began diminishing as CBS refused to give airtime to Carter when he defended the Panama Canal treaties and, to make matters worse, the New York Times backed CBS' decision.[43] The Times stated that he president did not have the right to automatically receive any airtime granted; granting that demand is a decision that the networks have the right to make.

In a column by Nixon's former director of communications Herbert G. Klein published by the Times on the same day, alluded to the vulnerability poll, saying that three weeks ago, people were talking of an eight-year presidency, but now, a one-term presidency was possible. Klein does say that Carter has maintained an atmosphere of openness and honesty, but it does not always build confidence and credibility in government.[44]

Carter, it appears, has finally faced the dilemma between running a smooth government behind closed doors and risking loss of confidence with a government opened to scrutiny of every action, or inaction. This is caused by keeping to the traditional concept of merging leadership with access. These 1978 articles and broadcasts show he is beginning to have trouble reaching his goals of credibility with his efforts at an open government.

On December 2, 1978, Carter changed strategies to reach the public. In an effort to bypass the national media, the administration began providing free taped radio spots to the 600 radio stations in the United States. The taped spots were 30- to 40-seconds long and contained current news "emanating from the White House." The source of the tapes were not on the messages to be broadcast; it would be a decision by each station as to whether to reveal the source.[45]

By 1979, Carter had concluded that the press corps was not conducive to getting his message to the public. Carter kept his distance from the press corps and when the administration talked with the national media, it was usually through press secretary Jody Powell. New York Times writer Steven Rattner described the secrecy and vagueness surrounding the Camp David Accords in July:

> "The White House press corps encountered not just the usual keep-your-distance remoteness, but an unbridgeable chasm between them and the President. The breach has grown in recent years, but the events of the last 10 days reached new extremes."[46]

Not only was Carter using the radio spots and his press secretary, he was now conducting town meetings in rural areas of the country. In an analysis by Terence Smith in the New York Times, Carter is using these methods and regional press conferences to bypass the national media and to reach the public.[47] Although Carter has narrowed the access of the Washington press corps, the access was shifted to the regional media. In most cases, however, the regional media do tend to treat presidents in a better light than the national media will.

Also, in an effort to change his image with the national media and American public, ABC reported on August 2, that consultant

Gerald Rafshoon had been activated.[48] Rafshoon's chief jobs were to change Carter's public image and restructure his contact with the media. Thus came the town meetings, radio spots and increasing use of the press secretary.

The national press was furious and showed it. The conflict erupted on August 15 during a scheduled trip on a riverboat down the Mississippi River. The White House set conditions on areas of the boat available for photographers of the national media. All media outlets except Time, Newsweek and UPI agreed to the restrictions; however, the press was not at all pleased with the arrangements. At the same time, the White House was seeking the right of approval of photographs taken on the boat trip. The next day, the AP and the three networks joined the others in saying it would not send photographers on the trip. Press secretary Jody Powell explained that the restrictions were necessary to prevent Carter and the First Lady from being photographed 24 hours a day. On August 17, the day of the trip, the White relaxed the restrictions and the boycotting media outlets decided to go on the trip.[49]

Thus, Carter and his staff, although they tried to control the press, realized that any message is better than no message at all. Ultimately, they caved in under the threat of a virtual news photo and video blackout. The president wanted to get this riverboat ride into the news and in front of the eyes of the country, but he also wanted to control the content of the photographs. When the news media would have no part of that, Carter relaxed the rules to receive the desired publicity.

The hostage crisis in Iran three months later deteriorated Carter's relationship with the press and further derailed his stated quest of an open government. On Nov. 4, 1979, Iranian students overtook the U.S. Embassy in Iran in an attempt to have the Shah of Iran returned from the United States for trial in Iran. By taking Americans hostage, Carter was thrust into the darkest moments of his administration. With the threat of American lives at stake, Carter basically severed ties to the media on this issue, sending Powell and Hodding Carter III to face the media.

On December 5, in the New York Times, Steven Weisman suggested that Powell and Hodding Carter enjoyed sparring with the press over Iran.[50] Powell and Hodding Carter explained point-blank that they would be holding back information about secret diplomatic contacts with the Iranians.

Nothing illustrated the deception offered to the American public better than the ill-fated hostage rescue attempt on April 24-25, 1980. For the two days previous to the rescue, Powell flatly denied there was a rescue attempt and diverted attention to other developments in Iran.[51] Carter and his administration obviously selected national security over the rights of the people to know, demonstrating Carter's realization that an open government is easier to promise than to actually run, particularly when American lives are at stake.

By July 1980, after months of going nowhere to secure the release of the hostages and embroiled in a re-election campaign in which he was losing, Carter's relationship with the press was at an all-time low. Hodding Carter, who had resigned a month earlier, claimed that the White House now viewed the press "as the enemy" and was trying to stop "leakers" from giving information to the press.[52]

Conclusion

For the Carter administration, the process of truth, the ideas that truth will emerge when there is an open and honest debate of the issues, evolved from the policy of openness and frequent press conferences to rare occasions for the press to interact with the president.

Carter genuinely believed that he could restore honesty and integrity of the government by allowing open access to the chief executive as illustrated in his autobiography, his radio call-in show and 25 press conferences during his first year in office. Circumstances changed, however, and by the end of his first and only term, Carter was isolated from the national media.

Carter's press secretary Jody Powell's analysis of the situation summed up the administration's relationship with the press at the end of the Carter term:

> "By the end of four years in the White House, I had reached the conclusion that this relationship between the press and the presidency is seriously flawed. It fails to provide the President with an adequate channel for communicating with, for moving, shaping, and directing the popular will. Perhaps more important, it also fails to provide the nation with the quantity and quality of reasonably accurate information its citizens need to make the decisions necessary for self-government."[53]

In Powell's autobiography, he has a chapter titled "The Right to

Lie" describing situations when it is proper for an American president, and his staff, to lie to the public: in instances of national security and the right of privacy of private and public individuals because "common decency demands it."[54]

Powell said he was only faced with having to lie to the press on two occasions: once during the hostage rescue attempt, when he cited obvious reasons of national security, and another instance involving the "personal life of a colleague and that of his family," an instance for Powell where privacy prevailed over the public's right to know.[55]

In his memoirs, Carter was candid about his relationship with the press and that he and his advisors, at a meeting during the Camp David accords, believed that the relationship between the press and the presidency had become counter-productive:

> "They thought the relationship between the White House staff and the White House press corps was especially bad....Everyone agreed that the news media were superficial in their treatment of national and international events and tended to trivialize the most serious problems with a cynical approach....and (the advisors) advised me to stop having so many press conferences."[56]

Carter, who came into office following the relatively secretive presidencies of Johnson and Nixon and Ford's pardon of Nixon before a trial, transformed his early idealism of an open and honest government in which the American public knew of the inner workings of their chosen leaders to a distrust of the very conduit of information supplying the public. Carter tried to circumvent the press with the call-in show, radio spots, infrequent press conferences, town meetings, regional press conferences and a reliance on Powell and Hodding Carter. The "prime-time president" and "maestro of the media" was doomed to cancellation, like many other television stars.

Limitations of the Study

This case study limits itself in two areas: scope of national press used in the study and linking Carter to Milton, Locke, etc., without the president specifically stating he is following their philosophies.

A more comprehensive study could include the coverage of Carter and his desire for open, honest government in several other newspapers, such as the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Baltimore Sun and the Los Angeles Times.

Carter never, in this research, stakes claims to adhering to the philosophies of Milton, Locke, Jefferson, and Madison. He calls for open and honesty in his autobiography. Whether this is his personal philosophy or just a statement for political purposes cannot be evaluated. What can be looked at is his record following his public statement in his autobiography. Carter began his administration with many press conferences, but ended it with relatively few. He tried other ways at reaching the public while circumventing the national press.

Ultimately, however, Carter ran into the dilemma all presidents face: How to achieve goals and keep your power in an open government where you are constantly under scrutiny and open to second-guessing.

This paper also does not adequately discuss Carter's personality and his personal perception of the press. Another study certainly could examine this extensive topic.

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OVER

Ambassador of American Journalism: Alistair Cooke

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Ambassador of American Journalism: Alistair Cooke

by Michael D. Murray

In the introduction to AMERICA OBSERVED, Richard Wells, Professor of History at Calvin College, points out that the most widely read and listened to European observer of America, since the nineteen forties, has been Alistair Cooke.1 He goes on to clarify how Europeans have traditionally savored reports from the colonies speculating on the position of the United States in international affairs--a unique laboratory, or, as Wells terms it: "forerunner of world change." In reviewing the collection of writing from THE GUARDIAN contained in AMERICA OBSERVED, NEW YORK TIMES critic John Gross, discussed how Cooke dispelled a great deal of ignorance and prejudice about America: "He [Cooke] has a natural admirably unsnobbish sympathy for the way in which American influences have made life easier for the common people in Britain . . ."2 This kind of outlook began, of course, with the earliest observers of the colonies. Tocqueville's visit, for example, helped to establish America's place as democratic role-model for world development. While Wells also offers an assessment of Tocqueville's DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA as "perhaps the greatest work ever written on any country by the citizen of another," he also pointed out that the success of the work has more to do with its emphasis on democratic principles than with a preoccupation with America.3

The theme of America as political role-model is consistent with the general belief which frequently makes the United States the subject of international discourse, envy, and, to some extent, imitation. For the past four decades, Alistair Cooke has served as perhaps the foreign correspondent most closely identified with interpretations of American life, including values and norms, for foreign audiences.4 Cooke also established early credentials in television, serving as host of OMNIBUS from 1952 to 1960 and becoming a naturalized U.S. citizen. He later became identified with the British originated series MASTERPIECE THEATRE and served as writer and narrator for the AMERICA series which was broadcast over NBC. Interestingly, for much of this time, Cooke has been concerned with America's cultural landscape and its public people-- particularly journalists, commenting on their place in American society, their work habits and their influence among the general populace. This paper assesses Cooke's preoccupation with American journalism and journalists. It examines some of his best known writing from a variety of texts, including articles and broadcast scripts written specifically for readers and listeners outside of the United States, focusing especially on five major figures in twentieth century American journalism.

BACKGROUND

Alistair Cooke came to the United States in 1932 from Cambridge University under a government sponsored scholarship program to attend the Yale Drama School. Intent on a career as a theatre director, but unable to direct plays, he turned to dramatic criticism and requested a transfer to Harvard University in order to study under linguistic scholar, Professor Miles Hanley. The request was approved and Cooke set about doing field work on THE AMERICAN LINGUISTIC ATLAS, with opportunities for travel around the country. He subsequently published a six-part series on Hollywood for the LONDON OBSERVER and, upon the completion of his fellowship in 1934, applied for and received the job of film critic for the BBC. This position lasted for three years during which he broadcast about American attitudes and national affairs over both the BBC and NBC Radio in New York. His affiliation with THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN (now THE GUARDIAN) began in 1945 and the following year he established the "Letters from America" program for the BBC, which would become the longest running series in the history of broadcasting.

Three collections of his broadcasts and a compilation of columns from the GUARDIAN highlight a publishing career consisting of ten books and two edited volumes which established his early preoccupation with journalism performance--and those responsible for reporting, the journalists themselves. Many of these columns cover the work of specialized writers such as film critics, for example, eventually compiled in GARBO AND THE NIGHTWATCHMEN,5 as well as leading journalists of the period. In response to inquiries regarding those journalists exrecizing influence on his writing, Cooke includes Mark Twain, E. B. White, and the British historian D. W. Brogan: "When I read Brogan I noticed he could give you the most recondite sort of Harold Laskian analysis of something in government, but he would cap it with an anecdote from James Farley or some precinct captain or a lyric from Cole Porter. In think I realized from him how it could be done."6 In spite of his expressed admiration for the historian Brogan, Cooke has probably spent more time extolling the professional virtues and personal vices of H. L. Mencken, who served as something of a mentor to him during his introduction to America. THE VINTAGE MENCKEN became, for example, the centerpiece of one segment of Cooke's documentary series "America: A History" prepared for BBC-TV and broadcast over the NBC Network in the United States, and Cooke identified this American iconoclast as one of the key influences on his writing.7

H. L. MENCKEN

Cooke's first contact with Mencken came while he was still a graduate student. He corresponded on THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE then visited Mencken in Baltimore, eventually forming a friendship in spite of the fact that Cooke said he amalgamated in one person many of the types of people Mencken disliked. He reported the prejudice this way: "He distrusted Englishmen, and abominated broadcasting, which had become my trade; he said that broadcasters suffered from 'perfumed tonsils'."8 In spite of the incongruity, Mencken accepted Cooke and the idiosyncracies of his work as a foreign correspondent and broadcaster. He also recognized the requirement of attracting readers with both reportage and entertainment.

It is from Mencken that Cooke formed many of his ideals on reporting, a philosophy of news gathering and an ideology, saying in effect that a reporter sacrifices professional standards when representing a political point of view. On the other hand, Cooke concedes that some of the best stories are formed by idealogically-recognized characters such as Mencken, whose work often exemplified accurate and perceptiive accounts of events of his day. While refusing to refer to Franklin D. Roosevelt as President, for example, prefering "Franklin the First" or "Our Lord and Master" in private conversation, Mencken was still able, according to Cooke, to produce an authentic and unbiased account of how Roosevelt was nominated for office in 1932.9

Beyond his ability to transcend prejudices, which has since become a debating point, Mencken was always on hand to defend the rights of reporters, encourage young correspondents, and was often first to file a protest against severe censorship during wartime with dispatches from the homefront. He sympathized with Cooke when he was forced to sign-up under the Alien and Sedition Act in spite of his singular role of being the only American citizen to be a British correspondent. Cooke objected to the idea of having to file in conjunction with requests by the Office of War Information who Mencken described as "draft dodgers," advising Cooke not to comply.10

Cooke met with military officials but failed to make the case Mencken suggested--to declare himself a propagandist for the British, with that being an affront to his status as a reporter and U.S. citizen. Of course, Mencken did not report during the war. He had described Hitler as a "harmless jackel" early on and there was concern expressed by Cooke that Mencken's German roots hurt his journalistic objectivity in this area. Since that time, Mencken's motivations have been called into question on this issue.11 It is Cooke's belief that Mencken had looked forward to resuming attacks on democracy, never anticipating or admitting to Nazi atrocities. Mencken retired from his regular column to edit his files on American language shortly after this period and was able to finish three volumes of his autobiography, an anthology of his writing, a dictionary of quotations, and two supplements to THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE.

Mencken and Cooke both attended the political conventions of 1948 and in his essay,"The Public and Private Face," from SIX MEN, Cooke described how Mencken reported on the Democratic and Progressive conventions in Philadelphia.12 Cooke had wrangled a press seat next to Mencken for the early meetings and the young correspondent was able to observe the master at work throughout the meeting and describe how he conducted himself. As it turned out, this was Mencken's last reporting assignment and one of the final things he was able to write, just before his incapacitation from a cerebral thrombosis. Mencken retired from the Republican meeting early because of ill health.Fortunately, it was not without its moment for Mencken as a proposal to censure him was made by the Progressive Convention for his "contemptible rantings which pass for newspaper reporting." As rejoinder, Mencken concluded his participation at the meeting of anti-Imperialist Wallacites by suggesting they rise and sing the "God Save the King," in honor of Cooke, who, Mencken told the participants, was covering the proceedings for the LONDON DAILY WORKER. According to the youthful British expatriot reporter, they were at first outraged, then mellowed to the idea--a great source of comedy to Mencken even as his health was deteriorating.

As his career progressed, Cooke always tried to explain newspaper oddities and conventions to his readers. It seems that when Mencken was taken ill with a massive stroke in November, 1948, a Baltimore hospital source told Cooke that it was doubtful that his mentor would last through the night. Cooke penned a lengthy obituary that evening for THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN of over four thousand words. Because of the austerity of the newspaper business at that time, the paper consisted of only four pages on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday but six on Tuesday and Thursday. In response to Cooke's lengthy submission on Mencken's impending passing, a cable shot back: "Many thanks. Mencken. Stop. Hope he dies Monday, Wednesday, or Friday."13 Ironically, Mencken lived on for several years. Cooke learned to edit more scrupulously.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

On occasion, Cooke has also taken great strides to explain not only deadline pressure but the process by which his newspaper columns and radio talks are distributed. In a piece entitled "Please Die Before Noon," he discussed the delay of the broadcast programs, pointing out that his radio talks are taped several days before they are heard in Britain and later in places like Australia, Ethiopia and Uganda, where the locals decide when they will air the following week. This has led him to occasionally barter over major events and their outcome, described as a periodically "knotty little professional problem that a good professional is not supposed to talk about," but one to which he nonetheless dedicated an entire broadcast--the logistics of broadcasting.14 The taping, air-mailing and passage through customs, transmission and short wave relay create instances in which major events transpire between the taping of a program and the actual broadcast. He has discussed, for example, having to deal with reports on the assassination attempt on the life of Harry Truman, the bombing at Pearl Harbor, Watergate, and, of course, the passing of his guru, Mencken with uncretainty as the the outcome..

Cooke once claimed that a journalist of mammoth ego and considerable talent told him the aim of every newspaper journalist is not to get a front page story published but to get himself on the front page. The journalist, Randolph Churchill, predicted that it would happen to him the day after he died. Unfortunately, his passing coincided with Robert Kennedy's assassination and he was relegated to the obituary section. Similarly, the day Walter Winchell died, Cooke felt compelled to forgo an elegy on Winchell whom, he said, possessed a "colossal ego." In June, 1969, Cooke wrote about another writer he called one of the best American humorists, who, even at his worst handled the American language with a free wheeling audacity rarely matched since Mark Twain.

When Westbrook Pegler died at age seventy-four, Cooke honored him with a radio talk even though he identified his trade as scurrility. In the 1930s and 40s Cooke said it was breathtaking to see how close Pegler could sail into the wind of the libel laws until a $175,000 libel settlement took the wind out of his sails. Cooke called him a scornful man--one a lot of people regarded as a case of great talent gone to seed. But Cooke also offered a variation on Einstein's theory of relativity in this particular case pointing out that some people are so animated in life, they seem to still be on-call long after their passing. Pegler was as active as any writer of his day and was admired as much for his industry as his work, in spite of perceived shortcomings.

As a leading muckraker of his day, Cooke described Pegler as the kind of reporter not put off by a press handout, telephone call or an unwillingness to comment. Brought up in the talented school of Chicago reporters at a time when it was considered the best newspaper town in the country. He exposed crime and corruption in a variety of locations, however, and was known for poring over police blotters and investigations which produced firecracker sentences like: "Willie Bioff is a convicted pimp," adding, "Bioff went to jail whining "I've been Peglerized."15 Cooke considered Pegler's first fifteen years as the columnist's great years--when he wrote with an unwavering skepticism refusing to be snowed by high sounding phrases. Even respected commentators such as Walter Lippmann, were regarded by Pegler as haughty, abstract thinkers, and he used to refer to Lippmann as "double-dome."

Cooke admitted that the Pegler style was forthright. In fact, most of the big issues were stated simply by Pegler, at least as Cooke saw it. They required a tiny bit of "horse sense" and little else. But it was his meaness which became something of a national scandal. He enjoyed putting down all of the heroes of his period with a single phrase. To Pegler, J. Edgar Hoover was "a nightclub fly cop," and FDR "the champion of the hired help." Although Cooke played up his role in the campaign against the Ku Klux Klan and praised his work out of Nazi Germany critical of Hitler, he also questioned defense of American police under fire for their failure in dealing with crime figures such as Dillinger. Cooke concluded with: "If the spiritualists are right, and Pegler is somewhere within the sound of these words, he is certainly tearing at his robes and bashing in his harp. But those are the kind of opinions for which he is honored. All you can do with talent is envy it."16 Pegler rejected the notion that he uplift his readers, regarding the thoughtful fraternity lead by Walter Lippmann, as, at best, distracting.

WALTER LIPPMANN and JAMES RESTON

In discussing Walter Lippmann's first quarter century of journalism, Cooke took the opportunity to point out the distinction American newspaper's make between news columns and editorials, with columnists occupying ground as solo performers too strong for the editorial voice of many newspapers. In Lippmann's case, a widely emulated national institution with no axe to grind, offered publishers and readers: "a pioneer researcher who uses great knowledge of the past as a handy but treacherous guide to the present."17

A discussion of his educational background and preparation as a writer included a stint as leg-man for celebrated muckraker Lincoln Steffens, government labor relations work, and foreign policy research which held him in good stead in the years to come. Cooke tops off his discussion of Lippmann with an assessment of his production methods--writing early in the day and reviewing again and again: "He meets--as only the most scrupulous do--the daily temptation to 'coast' on his style. . . . Although innumerable slime will use these pearls to wrap tomorrow's fish, he lets his essay go from him at last as reluctantly and hopefully as if it were a State paper." Of course, Cooke added, "Sometimes it is."18

Frequently, Cooke emphasized the contributions journalists had made at an early age. On the passing of Henry Luce, for example, he described how, as a schoolboy, he had first hatched the idea for a weekly newsmagazine written in a new style of inverted sentences and compound adjectives. On other worthy subjects he looked to education, but also religious training as an indication of a calling, describing the journalist as a preacher, "whose duty it is, in the good old phrase, to 'comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.'" According to Cooke, the writing of some of the best-known American journalists such as James Reston, is peppered with religious fervor. Starting as an Associated Press reporter, in his late twenties Reston "heard the call of John Calvin or John Knox or John the Baptist, it doesn't matter which, and turned to politics during the London blitz, and then to Washington."19

In addition to prominence established in his early years, Reston became well known for his description of an acupuncture procedure he received in China. Because of this he would still be a large footnote in history, according to Cooke, "if all Mr. Reston's powerful sermons were lost."20 These are the writings of one whom Cooke characterized as laboring for a "heavy" newspaper. In describing those who write for those "heavy" publications, Cooke maintained a claim to superior taste in literature often citing criminal deeds from the work of Dickens, Dostoevsky or Joseph Conrad. In a broadcast essay on an unusual child kidnapping case--what Cooke termed "one of the news stories of the century," for example, he discussed the differences between "heavy" and "light" writing. He suggested it a curiousity that in most countries heavy newspapers tend to avoid human interest stories while the light papers place a great deal of emphasis on personal qualities: He said: "Surely it's odd that light newspapers should be the ones to take an instinctive interest in such profound things as murder, kidnapping, rape, and infidelity; for surely the deepest human feelings are involved in such goings-on."21

Cooke also expressed the view that the best stories frequently receive the worst treatment by most of the press while the dull abstractions that are universally similar in areas such as economics and politics are treated with care and solemnity. He credits the United States in this regard, saying America is not yet "blase enough" to keep up an artificial distinction between literature and life. The result being that the most serious American newspapers actively employ a stable of feature writers devoted to covering the daily life of the people of the streets and slums, as well as the joys and hardships of anyone from the Mayor to immigrants who spend their nights sleeping in the most modest of quarters. Offering an assessment of the case in which a premature baby was stolen from a New York City hospital surviving in spite of the lack of qualified medical attention, Cooke pointed out that the story made front-page news in both the "heavy" and "light" papers.

Noting a continuing problem with the element of time in stories, Cooke once described how the radio critic for the BBC's THE LISTENER, took him to task for missing the story of how the Russians had rocketed the first human into space. The critic wrote: "One thing you must say for Cooke. When the last, the final, bomb has dropped on us all, he'll be there in New York, still waffling away."22 Cooke, of course, claimed to have known about the space travel as soon as THE LISTENER's critic--"probably sooner," the story concluding with his strategy of uncertain yet hopeful themes for the future of technology and reportage. In a discussion of "The Obscenity Business" Cooke pointed out how, through artful use of language, a journalist can deplore an event while promoting it, as in instances in which "Hearst newspaper editorials used to get very hot under the moral collar over some atrocity--a rape or murder--which was plastered all over the front page."23

MIKE WALLACE

Cooke has, on occasion, reinforced the view that, in modern day America, newspaper people are now competing with television, because of the new medium's ability to show wrongdoing, especially violence in society. In his view, television has become, to some extent, the new conscience of mankind and the increased popularity of television news has gotten, in Cooke's view, every newspaper reporter competing more feverishly for an audience hung up on partisanship or instant ideology. The result is that the best newspapers in Great Britain are turning into opinion magazines and what Cooke has calleda detrimental appeal to the seven deadly sins. As a result. the correspondent's role is defined narrowly in terms of ideology with the contemporary expectation that a partisan political view be expressed.

Current developments obviously take a toll on correspondents and their views of the field of journalism: "When I began, it was possible to present the awkward complexity of a political story without any side being taken. And then move on to any number of what we called 'color' pieces . . . Today you write about these things and the partisan oldsters say you're fiddling while Washington or Chicago burns. The young say you've got a hang-up on whimsy"24 and this criticism has been applied to his coverage of the most critical stories of his day. He mocked, for example, the influence of Mary McCarthy on assignment in Vietnam. He questioned her dispatches from Saigon and her expressed concerns about in numbers of Viet Namese casualties, reported inconsistencies at that time including the nearly 200 being treated in U. S. hospitals.25 In another instance from this turbulent period, Cooke described first-hand the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago as a terrifying demonstration of McLuhanism, since the overall picture of the proceedings were available only via television. He noted the Democratic Party obituary the day after with the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS headline reading: "Hubert in a Shambles," and the lead: "Hubert H. Humphrey could have gotten a better deal in bancruptcy court."26 His point--so much for objective reporting when one medium of communication covers another on a major story.

With the growing influence of television, Cooke has taken an ever closer look at the influence of the medium and those most adept at utilizing it as a tool of contemporary communication. He once described a young correspondent for the New York "Nightbeat" program as the "public prosecutor of American television."27 Offering his view of Mike Wallace's approach to a broadcast interview as a combination of a Boy Scout's zeal for good deeds with Humphrey Bogart's professional sadism, Cooke pointed out that strong men have been intimidated by Wallace's cross examination-style interview techniques. Cooke also offered an alternative experience, however, an interview with Malcolm Muggeridge in which Wallace was most tame in the course of assessing anti-Americanism in Europe. Even though Wallace started out as the interviewing equivalent of the Hound of the Baskervilles, he was congenial in getting the information he wanted in this instance--a lap-dog by British standards, at least according to Cooke.

Extending his grasp of communications still further, Cooke has frequently commented on a number of major publishing ventures beyond the realm of newspaper or broadcasting performance. He used the opportunity of Harold Ross' passing, for example, to discuss NEW YORKER editing techniques, relating his circulation of a reprint of a Mark Twain analysis of Fenimore Cooper's prose, to give a major magazine staff a taste of ruthless editing. Cooke cited the painstaking and clearly lucid copy of E. B. White and editor Woolcott Gibbs as being as much responsible for NEW YORKER status in the magazine field as anything else.28 In another essay on book publishing and his own publisher, Alfred Knopf, he later credited risk-taking in support of young authors as being a key ingredient to success in a rapidly expanding and changing field.

CONCLUSION

Cooke has called the job of writing and presenting radio talks the most challenging and satisfying in a lifetime of journalism.29 Satisfying, because his "Letters from America" series are written for a vast heterogeneous world-wide audience of people from Scotland to Malaysia. His thirteen and a half minute talks for the BBC which began in March, 1946, are aired on every continent but heard in the United States only over short wave. Cooke has called radio "literature for the blind," recognizing that the broadcaster has to try to write in an idiom acceptable to almost everybody--of any station in life, with almost any kind of education and schooling. The radio talks are written usually a couple of hours before they are taped and flown to London for broadcast. He has said: "The thing I love more than television, more than print--to write for talking. Ideally, you would like to talk like the first chapter of Genesis, or John Bunyan or Defoe--the language that anybody can understand. It's not easy because you're disciplining your imagination every step of the way."30

As for his experience as a television performer, he has commented on the background for the AMERICA documentary series, calling it a preposterous undertaking in that 500 years of American history was compressed into a sparse 650 minutes of film. He utilized documents, photos, prints, and engravings, which alternated with his on-location accounts including reports on his own activity as a young journalist during critical periods such as the Depression, World War II, and Vietnam. He details one of his first major reporting assignments, for example, covering a massive German/American Nazi rally in Madison Square Garden prior to America's entry into the war. He noted the decorations above the podium featuring the likenesses of historical figures: "Washington on the left, Lincoln on the right and Adolph Hitler, dead-center over the speaker's platform."31 As is typical of Cooke, the reporter's instinct would not permit for re-creation or selective adaptation of events, although he allowed himself to speculate on the nature of the work at hand, adding: "history is often not what happened but what people convinced themselves must have happened." Interestingly, Cooke won EMMY Awards for both information and entertainment--a first.

LOS ANGELES TIMES media critic David Shaw observed that today America has no pundits--journalistic opinion makers who, beginning in the 18th century wrote critically on society, politics and economics, with the tradition carried forward by the likes of Tom Paine and Horace Greeley.32 Later on, James Gordon Bennett, William Randolph Hearst, and Colonel Robert McCormick all promoted singular views via their own opinion outlets, as did William Loeb, in contemporary America. The writing of Walter Lippmann, and, more recently, broadcast commentary by Eric Severeid and John Chancellor offer opinion over the nation's airwaves.33

Although overlooked as a pundit, Alistair Cooke's views on the American scene have now spanned four decades. His published and broadcast commentary on America offers a distinct view of national development, filling a special role abroad for American journalism and the work of American journalists and their practices as a sounding board for ideas and an index of important national events. The international image of American journalism has been influenced by Cooke and this study has shown how a number of journalists have played a major role in national development from the perspective of an outsider with an international audience.34 Alistair Cooke's work as a journalist, evaluating journalism performance and central figures in American journalism history, predates the development of the formal journalism review. Cooke has managed to focus on a number of key figures in the field, often at the height of their popularity, examing their methods, motivations, and the reasons for their success Although, at times, he has focused on secondary players, as in the rest of his writing. According to the NEW YORK TIMES reviewer: "Mr Cooke has an uncanny knack for singling out the hidden, the topical and the peripheral as a stand-in for the cosmic, the universal and the eternal."35 In select instances, he admits to having emulated some, disliked a good many, while actively interacting with leaders in the field and adopting their habits and methods to his own work.36

Unlike most contemporary media critics, Cooke has covered, as a reporter and commentator, the important media-related stories and issues of his day, as well as the work of colleagues and some competitors. He has castigated some for their approach, while occasionally owning up to an admiration on grounds of their tenacity, investigative methods, or writing style. Beyond that, he has not limited himself to a single medium. Indeed, he has worked in a wide variety of areas of journalism, frequently commenting on the relative merits of each, and offering comparisons. For this reason, he is unique as a contemporary critic of the press and commentator on twentieth century media performance.

NOTES

1 Alistair Cooke, AMERICA OBSERVED, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989, p. 3. Cooke's papers are held in Special Collections at Mugar Memorial Library at Boston University. The author wishes to thank Howard B. Gotlieb, Director, for access to and use of the collection.

2. John Gross, "America Explained by a Visitor Who Stayed," NEW YORK TIMES, November 25, 1988, p.13L. See also, Robert P. Lawrence, "At 80, Cooke Still Does What He Does Best," SAN DIEGO UNION, June 22, 1989, C-2.

3. Alistair Cooke, AMERICA OBSERVED, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989, p. 3.

4. William H. Honan, "Alistair Cooke of the Many Hats Feels free to Doff One at Age 80," NEW YORK TIMES, November 19, 1988, p. 13L. See also, "Television's Adventure in Culture: The Story of 'Omnibus,'" TELEVISION QUARTERLY. Vol. XXV, No. 3, Fall, 1991, p. 9, and Michael D. Murray, "'America:' Cooke's Tour," JOURNALISM QUARTERLY, Vol. 53, No. 2, Summer, 1976, pp. 334-37. At times this identification has extended to coverage of events such as the assassination of Robert Kennedy which took place while Cooke was on assignment at the scene of the murder.

5. Alistair Cooke, GARBO AND THE NIGHTWATCHMEN; SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF BRITISH AND AMERICAN FILM CRITICS (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

6. Alistair Cooke, Personal Correspondence with Author, September 14, 1989.

7. "The First Impact," AMERICA; A PERSONAL HISTORY, NBC-TV Broadcast, April 10, 1973. Copies of THE LISTENER containing the series can be obtained in one set from BBC Publications. A modified version of the scripts are contained in ALISTAIR COOKE'S AMERICA (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973).

NOTES (continued)

8. Alistair Cooke, SIX MEN, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), p. 96. He also commented from time to time on other features of prominent political figures. See, for example, a segment regarding the complexion of a Progressive Party keynote speaker, comparable to a "good ten-cent cigar," and a comment on Herbert Hoover, who, he said, looked like "unrisen dough," quoted from SIX MEN in Wallace B. Eberhard and Gary D. Evans, "The Journalist as Inconoclast: H. L. Mencken and the Free Lance," American Journalism Historians Association Meeting, October 5, 1990, Couer d'Alene, Idaho, p. 10.

9. IBID. p. 98.

10. IBID.

11. See "Sage of Baltimore: Bias in Mencken's Diaries Tarnishes Image," ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, December 24, 1989, p. 4D. For comment on his attitude on racial injustices, see SIX MEN, quoted in Wallace B. Eberhard and Gary D. Davis, "The Journalist as Iconoclast: H. L. Mencken and the Free Lance," American Journalism Historians Association Meeting, October 5, 1990, Couer d'Alene, Idaho, p. 11.

12. SIX MEN.

13. IBID

14. Alistair Cooke, THE AMERICANS: FIFTY TALKS ON OUR LIFE AND TIMES (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), p. 235.

15. IBID, p. 20.

16. IBID., p. 21.

NOTES (continued)

17. Alistair Cooke, "Mr. Lippmann's First Quarter Century," May 8, 1956. Reprinted in Alistair Cooke, AMERICA OBSERVED (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 81.

18. IBID. p. 82

19. THE AMERICANS, p. 95

20. IBID.

21. Alistair Cooke, ONE MAN'S AMERICA (New York: Alfred A, Knopf, 1953), p. 203.

22. THE AMERICANS, p. 239

23. IBID. p. 188.

24. IBID.

25. AMERICA OBSERVED, p. 191.

26. IBID., p. 194.

27. IBID., p. 106

28. Alistair Cooke, "Harold Ross's NEW YORKER," THE GUARDIAN, December 11, 1951. Reprinted in Alistair Cooke, AMERICA OBSERVED (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), p. 50.

29. Quoted in Charles Moritz, CURRENT BIOGRAPHY (New York: W. W. Wilson, 1974), p. 83. Also, see Les Brown, THE NEW YORK TIMES ENCYLCOPEDIA OF TELEVISION (New York: Times Books, 1977), p. 96.

NOTES (continued)

30. Quoted in William H. Honan, "Alistair Cooke of the Many Hats Feels Fine to Doff One at Age 80," NEW YORK TIMES, November 19, 1988, p. 13L.

31. "The First Impact," AMERICA; A PERSONAL HISTORY, NBC-TV Broadcast, April 10, 1973.

32. William H. Honan, "Alistair Cooke of the Many Hats Feels Fine to Doff One at Age 80," NEW YORK TIMES, November 19, 1988, p. 13L..

33. See David Shaw, "The Death of Punditry," GANNETT CENTER JOURNAL, Spring, 1989, pp. 1-8.

34. Also, see Herbert Gans, "Bystanders as Opinion Makers," GANNETT CENTER JOURNAL, Spring, 1989, pp. 97-104.

35. William H. Honan, "Alistair Cooke of the Many Hats Feels Free to Doff One at Age 80," NEW YORK TIMES, November 19, 1988, p. 13L.

36. IBID.

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Photographs, Image Manipulation and False Light Invasion of Privacy

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Photographs, Image Manipulation and False Light Invasion of Privacy

Only eleven years of history separate the first recorded case of false light invasion of privacy and the first use of photographic process to record a moment of time. The fact that both creations involve images and light suggests that they are similar, but they are opposites. False light consists of publicity that places a person in a false light in the public eye. In its purest form, photography consists of using light to capture reality for the public eye. In their evolution to the present time, photographs and false light have been involved in many cases, but with the advent of new digital technology in photographic manipulation, a whole new era of privacy cases may appear.

The photograph, while once glorying in the old adage that "the camera doesn't lie," has come under new scrutiny by the viewing public. Admissions by the journalistic community of changing pictures without warning the reader are causing everyone to take a second look at photographs, wondering if they are truthful or deceiving. The danger of digital technology is that one can't tell what manipulations have been done, and that it is getting easier and cheaper to do every day. As the photographic image evolves into electronic data, the future will see new laws concerning copyright, appropriation and false light .

False light seems to have made its first appearance in 1816 in the English case *Lord Byron v. Johnston,*[1] when Lord Byron succeeded in stopping the distribution of a "spurious and inferior poem" attributed to his pen. Over the years, the principle frequently has made a rather nebulous appearance in a line of decisions in which falsity or fiction has been held to

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[1] Lord Bryon v. Johnston, 2 Mer. 29, 35 Eng. Rep. 851 (1816).

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defeat the privilege of reporting news and other matters of public interest, or of giving further publicity to already public figures. Only in recent years has false light begun to be recognized as a separate entity of privacy.[2]

Just across the English Channel, French inventor Nicephore Niepce was working on a photographic process. In fact, Niepce wrote his brother Claude on May 5, 1816, he had made a camera and successfully exposed an image out of his window:

> I placed the apparatus in the room where I work, facing the bird house and the open window. I made the experiment according to the process which you know, my dear friend, and I saw on the white paper all that part of the bird-house which can be seen from the window and a faint image of the window sashes which were less illuminated than the exterior objects. . . . This is only a very imperfect attempt. . .[3]

Indeed, the attempt was imperfect. The photographic image that he exposed in May of 1816 did not survive except in the notation in his letter. Had it survived, photography would have come into existence in the same year that the false light principle was being established in England. As it was, not until 1827 was Niepce able to capture a photographic image that still exists today. In the first recorded photograph, "View from His Window at Le Gras," Niepce captured the camera image by "the spontaneous action of light." The exposure was said to have lasted over eight hours.[4]

The invention of photography was a great success from the start and soon photographers and photographic processes were improving the quality and ease of the new art form. The excitement that greeted the invention of photography was the sense that man for the first time could see the world as it really is. In 1839, a French newspaper account in *Moniteur Universal* described photography: "Figure to yourself a glass which, after receiving your image, presents you your portrait, as indelible as painting and much more faithful."[5]

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[2] Prosser, William L., "Privacy," *California Law Review*, Vol. 48, Aug. 1960, p. 398.

[3] Newhall, Beaumont, *The History of Photography*, revised ed., (Little, Brown and Company, New York, 1982) p. 13.

[4] Ibid., p. 13.

The accuracy and detail in which photographs depicted reality brought them an early credibility for truth that has just now begun to erode after 150 years. Oliver Wendell Holmes likened it to a "mirror with a memory"[6] and in 1859 wrote:

> The very things which an artist would leave out, or render imperfectly, the photograph takes infinite care with, and so renders its illusions perfect. What is the picture of a drum without the marks on its head where the beating of the sticks has darkened the parchment?[7]

Neither words nor the most detailed painting can evoke a moment of vanished time as powerfully and as completely as a good photograph.[8] But this new image of truth had barely begun when the whispers of photo-manipulation became heard. As early as 1840, at probably the first exhibition of portraits in France, pictures were hand-colored and exhibitors "scratched the pupils of the eyes on the photographic plate to bring the images to life."[9] The bright sunlight and long exposure times of the early emulsions of three to twenty minutes caused most subjects to close their eyes during the exposure. Perhaps because the photographers were working within the limitations of their trade and not trying to present something that was untrue, most viewers accepted the alterations without criticism.

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[5] Ahlhauser, John, "A History of Photojournalism Ethics," *NPPA Special Report: The Ethics of Photojournalism*, 1990, p. 2.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

[7] op. cit., Newhall, p. 94.

[8] Ibid., p. 94.

[9] op. cit., Ahlhauser, p. 3.

During the early period of photography, the development of false light cases was based only on the written word. By definition, a person can be put in a false light only through publicity that distorts his or her personality[10] and during this period, publication of photographs was not technically possible in mass-media situations. But recognition of photography as a journalistic tool, even though not publishable, was established no more than 25 years after Niepce's first image. In 1853, George N. Barnard shot a series of daguerreotypes of burning mills in Oswego, New York, that are among the earliest photographs in existence covering an actual news event.[11] The ability of photography to accurately record events of public interest would open new a whole new field of documentary photography, but the ability to reproduce those photographs for publication would not be perfected for another 40 years.

As photographic equipment improved and techniques became simpler, photographers moved out of the studio and started to show people the world in hand-held images. The photograph became a new form of communication, used to document the real world in a universal language that all people could understand. Roger Fenton's coverage of the Crimean War in 1855 and Mathew Brady's photographs of the American Civil War brought the stark reality of death to the viewer that the written word could not.

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[10] Holsinger, Ralph L., *Media Law*, first ed. (Random House, New York, 1987), p. 172.

[11] op. cit., Newhall, p. 39.

> Corpses abound in battle paintings since the Renaissance. For the most part these dead are civilian figures; they are accessories, stage settings. But O'Sullivan's rifleman, lying in death, is a portrait. This man lived; this is the spot where he fell; this is how he looked at the very moment when he expired. Therein lies the great psychological difference between photography and the other arts; this is the quality that photography can transmit more strongly than can any other picture making.[12]

This was the age when the photograph and truth became one, and people developed an implicit faith in the truth of a photographic record. The photograph seemed more truthful because one could see it; it couldn't be twisted like words, or distorted like drawings . . . it was real.[13] It is this unshakeable faith which helps confirm false light accusations in later cases and leads to problems even today when photographs are not what they seem to be.

But photographic manipulation was not unknown during this period, just not easily recognized. After the assassination of President Lincoln, news editors were scrambling for a new engraving of Lincoln. They took a head shot of Lincoln made by Mathew Brady, reversed it, and put it atop the body of John C. Calhoun. Their dishonesty was discovered much later when it was noted that Lincoln's famous mole was on the wrong side of the image.[14] This predated the infamous *TV Guide* cover with Oprah Winfrey's head on Ann-Margret's body by at least a hundred years. A *TV Guide* spokesman contended that the cover was artwork, not a photograph, but he did concede that the casual reader could mistake it for a photograph.[15]

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[12] Ibid., p. 94.

[13] Ibid., p. 94.

[14] Massey, Toby, "Electronic Editing," *NPPA Special Report: The Ethics of Photojournalism*, 1990, p. 51.

And it was not until 1975 that photo-historian William Frassanito revealed that the Civil War photographs of Timothy O'Sullivan and Alexander Gardner had been found to contain numerous faked situations. Bodies were moved and weapons were placed in position to gain more dramatic effect. Until Frassanito brought his analysis to light, no one knew or objected.[16]

During the latter half of the century, publishers were constantly searching for ways to reproduce photographs and type together on the same press. They could reproduce photographs through a number of processes, but it required a second press run to include the type, and this made it unfeasible for most newspapers and magazines. Then, in 1884, the Leipzig *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Illustrated Newspaper) published two photographs in its March 15 edition using a halftone process developed by George Meissenbach. The process involves creating a negative image of the photograph with a lined screen which reduces the image to a series of dot patterns forming the image. This in turn is applied to a metal plate, then the plate is etched with acid, to leave a raised dot pattern. The dot pattern, when pressed, appears as tones of gray depending on the size and spacing of the dots.[17]

With the development of the halftone, the publishing of photographs in newspapers and magazines was now possible, and mass publication allowed photographs to be subject to false light actions just like the printed word. Again by coincidence, just as publishers were adopting the new printing method, a wealthy Boston paper manufacturer, Samuel D. Warren, who had just recently given up the practice of law to run the inherited paper business, and his former law partner, Louis D. Brandeis, were writing an article for the *Harvard Law Review* called "The Right to Privacy." Mr. Warren's family was among the elite of Boston, and the local papers, especially the *Saturday Evening Gazette,* covered their social events in highly personal and embarrassing detail. Warren teamed up with Brandeis to write what has come to be regarded as the outstanding example of the influence of legal periodicals upon American law.[18] Working with a variety of previous decisions from other areas of law, Warren and Brandeis argued that the right to privacy deserved separate recognition from the courts; that "instantaneous photographs and newspaper enterprise have invaded the sacred precincts of private and domestic life; and numerous mechanical devices threaten to make good the prediction that 'what is whispered in the closet shall be proclaimed from the house-tops.' "[19] They contended that the growing abuses of the press made a remedy upon such distinct ground essential to protect private individuals from the "outrageous and unjustifiable infliction of mental distress."[20]

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[15] Ibid., p. 51.

[16] Frassanito, William A., *Gettysburg, A Journey in Time*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1975) p. 186-192.

[17] op. cit., Newhall, p. 251-252.

Although well-received, the article had little immediate effect upon the law. The privacy theory was rejected by the first case to consider it; *Roberson v. Rochester Folding Box Co.*[21] In 1902, Abigail M. Roberson sued the Rochester company for unauthorized use of her photograph in advertising their flour. In the lower courts, the judges would allow recovery of $15,000 in a privacy lawsuit, but the New York Court of Appeals ruled that she could not collect because there was no precedent which established a "right of privacy." In a 4-3 decision, the Court of Appeals held that if her claim was allowed, the courts would be inundated with cases, and it was too difficult to distinguish between public and private persons.[22] The closeness of vote and the outcry that arose after the case caused the New York legislature in 1903 to pass a statute which made it a misdemeanor and a tort to use the name, portrait or picture of any person for advertising or "trade purposes" without the person's consent; exactly the situation which had arisen in *Roberson.*[23]

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[18] op. cit., Prosser, p. 383.

[19] Warren, Samuel D. and Louis D. Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. IV, No. 5, Dec. 15, 1890, p. 195.

[20] op. cit., Prosser, p. 384.

[21] Roberson v. Rochester Folding Box Co., 171 N.Y. 538, 64 N.E. 442 (1902).

Justice Gray, in his dissent of *Roberson*, described Miss Roberson's plight:

> the defendants had "knowing they had no right or authority . . . obtained, made, printed, sold and circulated about 25,000 lithographic prints, photographs or likenesses of the plaintiff for the purposes of profit and gain to themselves." These were "conspicuously posted and displayed in stores, warehouses and saloons throughout the United States and other countries, and particularly in the vicinity where the plaintiff resides;" that the result has been to greatly humiliate her, by the scoffs and jeers of persons who have recognized her face upon these advertisements, and her good name has been attacked.[24]

Abigail Roberson was greatly distressed by being portrayed as "The Flour of the Family" on these widely-distributed advertisements, and her humiliation from the public recognition was acknowledged in her case. The *Roberson* case preceded the William L. Prosser's definition of false light by some fifty years, but when Prosser was describing "publicity which places the plaintiff in a false light in the public eye," Abigail Roberson could have been his example.[25]

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[22] Nelson, Harold L. and Dwight L. Teeter, Jr., *Law of Mass Communication*, fifth ed., (The Foundation Press, Inc., New York, 1986), p. 206.

[23] Ibid, p. 207.

[24] Roberson v. Rochester Box Co., p. 448.

In 1905, the Georgia Supreme Court heard *Pavesich v. New England Life Insurance Company*, another right of privacy case that would later fall in the false light arena.[26] In *Pavesich,* the defendant's insurance advertising made use of the plaintiff's name and picture, as well as attributing untrue statements to Pavesich. Georgia rejected the *Roberson* case and recognized the existence of a distinct right of privacy. This became the leading case.[27]

For the next 30 years, state courts disputed the existence of right of privacy as they divided over the choosing between the *Roberson* or the *Pavesich* case. In 1939, the *Restatement of Torts* recognized right to privacy with its statement of Interference with Privacy (§ 867): "A person who unreasonably and seriously interferes with another's interest in not having his affairs known to others or his likeness exhibited to the public is liable to the other."[28] With this recognition, state courts, during the next 20 years, began to establish precedents in cases involving privacy so that Prosser could write in 1960 that the right of privacy, in one form or another, was declared to exist by an overwhelming majority of American courts.[29]

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[25] op. cit., Prosser, p. 389.

[26] Pavesich v. New England Life Insurance Co., 122 Ga. 190 (1905).

[27] op. cit., Prosser, p. 386.

[28] Restatement of Torts, §867 (1939), p. 398.

[29] op. cit., Prosser, p. 386.

The state of Illinois recognized the existence of privacy with a case in 1952, which closely mirrored the Roberson case 50 years earlier. Virginia Eick, a blind girl, sued the Perk Dog Food Company for using an unauthorized photograph of her in advertisements promoting their dog food. The ads urged purchases of their dog food by "depicting [the] plaintiff, a blind girl, as a prospective donee of [a] master eye dog, thus causing her to lose respect and admiration of those who knew her and to suffer humiliation and mental anguish stated cause of action for violation of right of privacy, though no special damages were alleged."[30] The Circuit Court of Cook County dismissed Eick's case, and she appealed. The Illinois Appellate Court, recognizing that the plaintiff was already the owner of a "master eye dog" and had no need for another such dog, found cause for action for "violation of an interest which has become known as the right of privacy. The question of whether or not such a right exists in Illinois has never been passed upon by any court of review in this state."[31]

Justice Schwartz, after citing more than 20 American jurisdictions recognizing right of privacy in his opinion, compared the statutory system of Rhode Island and the constitutional provisions of Georgia. He decided that the Illinois and Georgia constitutions had similar due process clauses both of which constitutionally guaranteed "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The Georgia court stated that the right of privacy was a natural right protected by that due process clause, and Judge Schwartz ruled that in view of Illinois similar clause the legal right of privacy should be recognized in Illinois. The Appellate Court, in a 3-0 decision, reversed and remanded the case with directions.[32]

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[30] Eick v. Perk Dog Food Company, 106 N.E. 2d 742, (1952) p.743.

[31] Ibid., p. 743.

Even though the *Eick* case involved a photograph which placed the plaintiff in a false light, it was just one of the many privacy cases which were being heard during the 1940's and 1950's. Right to privacy would not be more closely defined until Prosser did it in 1960.

When Prosser published his article in the *California Law Review*, he noted that privacy as a legal concept in the United States had already evolved into four distinct subcategories:

1. Intrusion upon the plaintiff's seclusion or solitude, or into his private affairs.
2. Public disclosures of embarrassing private facts about the plaintiff.
3. Publicity which places the plaintiff in a false light in the public eye.
4. Appropriation, for the defendant's advantage, of the plaintiff's name or likeness.[33]

Those four subcategories have subsequently become accepted legal categories of privacy.

False light comes in portraying individuals as something other than they are to a point that would be offensive to a reasonable person. The point to remember is that the portrayal need not be defamatory, although it is in most cases. In photographs, the photographer or editor must be careful that that the picture, or its caption, does not portray someone in a false light in conjunction with the story. Even if not mentioned by name, if the picture of a person is recognizable and published as part of a libelous article, the person can have cause for action for libel and false light.

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[32] Ibid., p. 748.

[33] op. cit., Prosser, p. 389.

Even as Prosser was formulating his definitions for privacy, the first case involving false light to come before the Supreme Court, *Time, Inc. v. Hill* [34], was slowly making its way through the lower courts.

In September of 1952, the Hill family was held hostage for nineteen hours in their Philadelphia home by three escaped convicts. The convicts released the family unharmed and in the interviews with the press after their release, the family stressed that they had been treated courteously and had not been molested or harmed. In a later encounter with the police, two of the three convicts were shot and killed. and the other recaptured. The Hills moved to Connecticut and tried to forget the incident.

In the spring of 1953, Joseph Hayes wrote a novel, *The Desperate Hours*, which was depicted the experiences of a suburban family of four being held hostage in their home by three convicts, but there the similarities with the Hill's saga ended as Hayes' story contained act of violence by the convicts. In Haye's version, the father and son are beaten and the daughter is subjected to verbal sexual insults.

In 1955, *The Desperate Hours* was made into a play with the same name.and the play was being reviewed by *Life* magazine when the magazine shot a series of photographs in the Hill's former house to illustrate the review. The three pictures that ran with the review depicted scenes which had not occurred, and the editor who prepared the copy and captions changed the article to directly associate the story with the Hills. The Hills sued for false light invasion of privacy.because the article intended to, and did, give the impression that the play was the Hills' story, and that was not true. *Life* defended its article by stating that it was about "a subject of general interest and of value and concern to the public," and that it was "published in good faith without any malice whatsoever. . ." The trial judge denied a motion to dismiss and let the jury decide as to the truth of the article. The jury found the magazine liable and awarded the Hills $50,000 compensatory and $25,000 punitive damages [35]

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[34] Time, Inc. v. Hill, 385 U.S. 374 (1967).

The Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, hearing the appeal, ordered a new trial to award damages, but sustained the jury's verdict on the liability of the magazine. At the new trial on damages, the court awared $30,000 in compensatory damages and no punitive damages after a jury was waived. The New York Court of Appeals affirmed the Appellate decision.

On appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, Time, Inc. argued that its First Amendment rights were involved. The Supreme Court agreed, saying the New York courts had not shown the proper regard for the freedom of the press, and that the Hills would have to prove actual malice. By this time it was 1967, and after twelve years of legal action, the Hills withdrew.[36]

The vote in the Hill case was 6-3, but only three of the concurring justices endorsed the actual malice standard. Also in the case, the Hills were considered involuntary public figures, and to satisfy the *New York Times v. Sullivan* [37] ruling three years earlier, public figures had to prove actual malice.[38]

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[35] Ibid., p. 379.

[36] op. cit., Holsinger, p. 191.

[37] New York Times v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254 (1964).

[38] Carter, T. Barton, Marc A. Franklin, and Jay B. Wright, *The First Amendment and the Fourth Estate*, fourth ed., (The Foundation Press, Inc., New York, 1988), p. 160.

In 1974, the Supreme Court reviewed a second false light case, this one being *Cantrell v. Forest City Publishing Co.*[39] Mrs. Cantrell was the subject of a *Cleveland Plain Dealer* story when her husband and 44 other people were killed in a bridge collapse on the Ohio River. Several months later, the original reporter with a photographer were doing a follow-up story and revisited the Cantrells. Mrs. Cantrell was not home, but the reporter did interview some of the children and the photographer took about 50 photographs. When the story ran, the story read as if Mrs. Cantrell was interviewed, putting her in an embittered state, even describing her facial expressions. Mrs. Cantrell sued for false light invasion of privacy. The lower court awarded Mrs. Cantrell a $60,000 judgment, and the appeals court reversed the judgment. The Supreme Court repeated its actual malice stance in the *Hill* case and restored the original verdict, stating that "the jury was plainly justified in finding that Eszterhas (the reporter) had portrayed the Cantrells in a false light through knowing or reckless untruth."[40]

The Supreme Court heard the *Cantrell* case six months after it had ruled in *Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc.*,[41] that public officials and public figures had to prove actual malice, but plaintiffs who were found to be private individuals had to prove only negligence on the part of the offending media defendant. In *Cantrell*, however, the Court reiterated its actual malice stance of the *Hill* case, even though Mrs. Cantrell was clearly a private individual. The majority of the Court recognized that Eszterhas had been caught in a knowing falsehood proving malice on the part of the reporter, and did not apply the reasoning in *Gertz* regarding private individuals to Mrs. Cantrell. With actual malice proven, it did not matter whether she was a public or private figure.

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[39] Cantrell v. Forest City Publishing Company, 419 U.S. 245 (1974).

[40] op. cit., Cantrell v. Forest City Publishing Company, 419 U.S. 245 (1974), p. 470-471.

[41] Gertz v. Robert Welch, Inc., 418 U.S. 323 (1974).

With the two conflicting rulings, there was confusion in the lower courts. Initially, some courts followed the *Hill* and *Cantrell* rationale and required all false light plaintiffs to prove actual malice, but more recently, courts have turned to the *Gertz* case and held that only public official/public figure false light plaintiffs need to prove actual malice.[42]

In *McCall v. Courier-Journal,*[43] in 1981, Louisville lawyer John McCall sued the *Louisville Times* over a front page article which implied that he would "fix" a court case and "bribe" a judge for a fee. McCall sued for libel and false light invasion of right of privacy. Summary judgment was granted to the *Times* in the circuit court and affirmed by the Court of Appeals. In a discretionary review, the Kentucky Supreme Court held that the *Times* article was defamatory and the Court had the option to adopt a standard of fault applicable to protect a private individual from news media publication of defamatory statements. The Court chose to follow the decision in *Gertz* in regard to liability and private individuals for defamation and adopted the fault of simple negligence, but in the matter of invasion of privacy for a private individual, it returned to the ruling in *Time, Inc v. Hill* case to require actual malice as the standard of fault.[44] The Kentucky Supreme Court reversed the decision of the trial court and remanded the case to the circuit court with instructions to conform with the opinion.

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[42] op. cit., Holsinger, p. 192.

[43] McCall v. Courier-Journal, 623 S.W. 2nd 882 (Ky. 1981).

[44] Ibid., p. 888.

In the Northern District of Illinois that same year, *Gertz* was applied by the U. S. District Court in *Cantrell v. ABC.*[45] James Cantrell was a building manager for a realty company which, along with a group of building owners, was alleged by two *ABC* reporters to be setting fire to its buildings and collecting the insurance in a nationally telecast segment of *20/20* entitled "Arson and Profit." Cantrell sued *ABC* and reporters Geraldo Rivera and Peter Lance for libel and invasion of his right of privacy. The court used *Gertz* to determine that Cantrell was a private individual, and then considered the actual malice standard in *Time, Inc. v. Hill* and ruled that "the right of privacy deserves more protection where the content of the injurious publication or broadcast purports to give a factual account of matters that are untrue, especially where the aggrieved party is not a public figure or official."[46] The court was concerned that too high a barrier would eliminate a private citizen's right to privacy based upon false light. The court denied *ABC's* motion to dismiss the libel and invasion of privacy claims.

During this period of confusion, a clarification was issued in 1977 with the Restatement (Second) of Torts.[47] The Restatement accepted the subcategories of privacy put forth by Prosser in 1960 and expanded definitions and provided illustrations based on previous cases. In Section 652E, the restatement extended the definition of false light:

> Publicity Placing Person in False Light.
> One who gives publicity to a matter concerning another that places the other before the public in a false light is subject to liability to the other for invasion of privacy, if (a) the false light in which

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[45] Cantrell v. ABC, 529 F. Supp. 764 (N.D.Ill. 1981).

[46] Ibid., p. 759.

[47] Restatement (Second) of Torts (1977).

> the other was placed would be highly offensive to a reasonable person, and (b) the actor had knowledge of or acted in reckless disregard as to the falsity of the publicized matter and the false light in which the other would be placed.[48]

Section 652E also has a Caveat which allows it to deal with the state of uncertainty in the wake of the *Gertz* and *Cantrell* decisions. It provides that liability for invasion of privacy for placing the plaintiff in a false light may exist if the defendant acted with knowledge of the falsity of the statement or in reckless disregard as to the truth or falsity. The Caveat leaves open the question of whether there may be liability based on a showing of negligence as to truth or falsity.[49]

In the period after Prosser's categories of privacy were becoming accepted, the number of false light cases increased rapidly. Between 1964 and 1974, 48 cases of false light actions occurred, and an additional 94 cases have been recorded by various appeals court case reporters between 1974 and1988.[50] Also, three variations of false light have been distinguished in case studies. The first is embellishment, where the defendant is alleged to have added something to a news or feature story to enhance it. The second is contextual false light or distortion, where a statement or photograph appears out of context, presenting an erroneous or offensive impression. The third fictionalization is where real people are thinly disguised or treated fictionally, such as in a television "docudrama." [51]

To this point in time, most false light cases concerning photographs have involved placement of the photograph out of context, or false or misleading captions. In the former, Jeannie Braun, trainer of "Ralph the Diving Pig," sued *Chic* magazine after a photograph of her and Ralph in a swimming pool appeared in *Chic* surrounded by other photographs and cartoons of a sexual explicit nature. The photograph was taken from a publicity postcard for which Mrs. Braun had signed a release "only so long as it was used in good taste and without embarrassment to her and her family." After ruling that Mrs. Braun was a private individual, the Court of Appeals ruled that Mrs. Braun could not collect damages for both defamation and invasion of privacy from a single publication, and vacated and remanded the ruling of the lower court. Mrs. Braun waived the defamation charge, and the district court awarded her $15,000 in compensatory damages and $50,000 in punitive damages.[52]

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[48] Restatement (Second) of Torts (1977), §652E, p. 394.

[49] Ibid., §652E, p. 399.

[50] Pilgrim, Tim A, "Docudramas and False-Light Invasion of Privacy," *Communications and the Law*, June, 1988, p. 11.

[51] op. cit., Carter, p. 159.

In the latter case, photographs of an actress, one showing her topless and another depicting an orgy scene were published in *Adelina* magazine. The photographs were taken from a movie called "The World is Full of Married Men," which was written by Jackie Collins Lerman. The anonymous actress was misidentified as Ms. Lerman, who did not appear in the movie, nude or clad. Finding out about the pictures, Ms. Lerman sued for an injunction to halt distribution of the movie and for damages for invasion of privacy. When Flynt Distributing Co. bought the rights to *Adelina*, Ms. Lerman sued Flynt also. Ms. Lerman was awarded damages in New York's lower court, but the Circuit Court overturned the awards, ruling that she fell outside the narrowly drawn New York Civil Rights Law Section 50-51, which came about from the *Roberson* case in 1902. In another state with less restrictive statutes or a more open approach to privacy, Ms. Lerman might well have won.[53]

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[52] Braun v. Flynt, 726 F.2d. 245 (5th Cir. 1984).

In 1983, a case in Michigan involved the publication of "retouched" photographs in a defamation, negligent and intentional infliction of emotional distress and false light action. In *Parnell v. Booth Newspapers, Inc.,*[54] the *Muskegon Chronicle* published a story on prostitution and used some photographs from the area that the police said the activity was taking place. The paper's graphics department retouched the photographs in order to conceal the identity of the people in the pictures. Teresa Parnell claimed that the retouching wasn't good enough, that she was recognizable in the photographs, and that other people identified her too. Parnell lived in the area where the story was being reported, and claimed that use of her photograph implied that she was a prostitute. She filed suit. In district court, both the plaintiff and the defendant filed cross motions for summary judgments. In each of the four motions, the judge in his opinion denied the defendant's motion for summary judgment, and in his conclusion, denied the cross-motions for summary judgment by the defendant and the plaintiff.

The Court of Appeals found the that the plaintiff was not a public figure as the newspaper asserted, but held that a qualified privilege did arise because of public interest in the administration of justice. In order to defeat the qualified privilege, the court held that the plaintiff had to prove "actual malice" as set forth by the Supreme Court in *New York Times vs. Sullivan,* that is, knowledge of falsity or reckless disregard for the truth. The defendant argued that because great care was used in altering the original photographs to obscure the identity of the woman in the photograph, there was a clear lack of injurious intent or recklessness. The plaintiff, while not disputing the photographs were retouched, suggested that the reckless disregard was in the circumstances which led the defendant to photograph the plaintiff and select those photographs for publication.[55] Does the defendant's altering of the photograph by obscuring its elements mean that the defendant has some doubt to the truth of the image? Or does the defendant just need a better technique in manipulating his image?

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[53] Lerman v. Flynt Distributing, 745 F.2d 123 (2d Cir. 1984), Nelson, p. 252-253.

[54] Parnell v. Booth Newspapers, Inc., 572 F. Supp. 909 (1983).

The prostitution story in *Parnell* was published in 1981 and the district court made its decision in 1983. While *Parnell* was proceeding through the legal system of invasion of privacy, an imaging revolution was taking place in photography which will transform the way one views a photograph

In the 150 previous years, photography had changed very little from the original basic concepts: a reaction of light on minute grains of silver compounds causes a change in the compounds that when chemically treated, produced an image which duplicated the reality of the reflected light. The processes used today are very similar to ones developed before the turn of the century, but computer technology is changing those basic concepts at a pace that photographers, media people and even the law has a difficult time maintaining.

Electronic digital imaging is the technical term for replacing the grains of silver of a photographic original (film) with "pixels," or electronic squares, that contains a binary code of digital ones and zeroes of a digital image that a computer understands.[56] The technology was developed by the space industry to accurately transmit visual data from satellites. Once the image is translated into the binary codes, or "digitized," the computer can reconstruct the image, make value changes in pixels by changing the codes, or store it to be reconstructed at a later time. The sanctity of the "original image" has been broken by the pixel.

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[55] Ibid., p. 920.

In the photographic process, most of the image manipulation was done on a reprint of the original; cropping, burning, dodging, bleaching, staining, spotting—all manipulate the image. Until digital imaging, the photographers had been in control of image manipulation because they were a part of the photographic process. The person with the closest ties to the actual image was the one who controlled its values and its appearance.

Most of the false light cases that have been discussed above have not dealt with image manipulation, but rather, misuse of the photograph in conjunction with another informational item or image. The photographs in question were a single contained unit, and the legal problems arose when the written material that accompanied it was erroneous, or the photograph itself was placed in context with other information or images which changed the perception of the original image.

Now, with digital imaging, the values in that single unit can be changed as well as those surrounding it, and it can be done by anyone with a minimum of equipment. A person needs an input device, or a method to capture an image electronically. A scanner, either print or film, translates the thousands of picture details into pixels of digitized information.[57] This method uses conventional photographic processes for the original image, and the digitized image is the reprint. Another input method is the still video or electronic chip camera, which operates like a regular camera, but uses a CCD (charged coupled device) chip or chips to record the image rather than film. The still video camera stores its images in digital form on a magnetic disk much like a computer floppy disk. It is in this area that one of the few drawbacks of the digital imaging is found. The CCD chips do not have the capacity to record an original image in the lines of resolution as a conventional photograph, but given the advances in quality in just a few years, it will not be long before the “original image” will not be a fixed visible object, but rather a string of electronic codes on a storage media.

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[56] Rogers, Michael, "Picture-Perfect Photos," *Newsweek*, Dec. 26, 1987, p. 64.
[57] Ibid., p. 64.

Besides an input device, a person needs a computer and image manipulation software, and an output device such as a printer or image/typesetter. The computer reads the binary code of the image and reconstructs it on the screen. Depending on the power of the software, almost any conventional photographic manipulation can be done easier and better than it can be done in the darkroom, and one doesn’t have to know the photographic technique to master it, just how to keyboard. But the real power of digital imaging is what can be done inside the “frame.” Up until this time, cropping and airbrushing were about the only remedies to removing unwanted objects from the frame; the first was limited to objects near the perimeter of the photograph and the second was a difficult technique to master and was usually noticeable even after retouching. Digitally, one can remove or add just about anything to a image without leaving any traces. After the image has been manipulated, it can be saved in its altered state for in a storage device or sent to an output device to be printed.

The age of computer digital imaging in publishing began barely ten years ago, when the pyramids moved. In February, 1982, *National Geographic* magazine electronically shifted one of the pyramids of Giza in a horizontal photograph closer to another pyramid to make it fit the vertical cover format better. It is probably not the first instance, but it is probably the most publicized, as it occurred relatively early and it has been widely talked about in photojournalistic circles.[58] While people stated their positions on the technique, two months later *National Geographic* added an inch of image from the top of one slide to the top of another to extend the hat of a Polish gentleman, again to fit the vertical cover. In both instances, there is no visible trace of the manipulation in the final image.[59]

Since the *Geographic* broke the digital imaging barriers, everyone has gotten into the act. In 1984, an image of falling Olympic star Mary Decker was slightly marred by an antenna in the frame. The antenna was left in the photograph which ran in *Life*, but digitally removed from the one which ran in *Time*, which demonstrates that few guidelines, even between news organizations in the same building, exist for use of the new technology.[60]

In 1989, *Newsweek* was redfaced when it admitted that the photograph of Dustin Hoffman and Tom Cruise of *Rain Man* was not exactly one photograph, but two; and that one had been taken in Hawaii and the other in New York and then combined in the computer. The computer image ran with a single photo credit and a caption that made no mention of the deception. In giving a rationale for such modification, Karen Mullarkey, *Newsweek* picture editor, asserted that while it is taboo at *Newsweek* to retouch news photos because it would "undermine your reputation," it is permitted for feature or fashion pictures.[61]

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[58] Ritchin, Fred, *In Our Own Image: The Coming Revolution in Photography*, (Aperture Foundation, Inc., New York, 1990), p. 14.

[59] Brand, Stewart, Kevin Kelly, and Jay Kinney, "Digital Retouching: The End of Photography as Evidence of Anything," *Whole Earth Review*, July 1985, p. 43-45.

[60] Alter, Jonathan, "When Photographs Lie," *Newsweek*, July 30, 1990, p. 45.

Newspapers got into the act, also, when the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* digitally removed a Diet Coke can from the photograph of a freelance photographer who had just won the Pulitzer Prize. The freelancer and his wife had requested soft drinks instead of the ritual champagne, and it was sitting on the table when the photograph was taken, but the can never made it to the front page. [62]

With this type of control over the image, what is there to prevent an editor from removing something, or adding something to a photograph which portrays an individual in a false light? If the editor had removed the Coke can in the image above and replaced it with a bottle of champagne, it could place the non-drinker in a false light situation. Already, examples of composite photographs of people living and dead are being manufactured to demonstrate the new technology; how soon will it be before people begin to publish composite images without a disclaimer or credit line as photographs?

For many graphics directors, whether a pyramid is moved one-eighth of an inch or a can disappears from a picture is a far less disturbing issue than the possibility that photographic negatives will be eliminated altogether. Electronic cameras that use magnetic disks to record light as digital impulses and transmit them by telephone directly into electronic imaging machines are gaining popularity among news organizations, notably *USA Today*. These disks are easily erased or altered and leave no permanent record.[63]

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[61] op. cit., Ritchin, p. 8-9.

[62] Kramer, Staci, "The case of the missing Coke can," *Editor and Publisher*, April 29, 1989, p. 18.

"This new technology has the potential of undermining our faith in photography as a reflection of reality," warns Edward Klein, editor of *The New York Times Magazine*.[64] A photograph used to be proof positive. It was something that one could bring to court as an accurate representation of what took place, but no more. The only salvation will be in trusting the photographer because with the advent of digital photography, photographs can prove nothing by themselves. Reporters use a medium, the written word, which is very open to abuse, yet the public trust reporters to tell the truth. Photojournalists need that same kind of reputation. There is no other path for us if we are to remain in the newsgathering business because the nature of photography has changed. Pictures can be created from spare parts, and no one can tell the difference.[65]

The new digital technology is awesome in its power and frightening with its capabilities, but it is just another tool which will allow photographers and editors to improve the quality of their publications and images with the speed and accuracy never before thought possible. It is not the end of the photograph, or of photojournalists. The media is being faced with many questions that have never been asked in the past, and new answers must be found for those questions. The next few years promise to be very interesting as photojournalists and editors grapple with the new technology. Mistakes will be made, and many of those mistakes will probably end up in court. The legal arena could see a number of new test cases in all areas of privacy and defamation, as the courts react to the effects of digital images on the public welfare. The increase noted earlier in false light cases will probably only get greater, as the new technology is installed in more newsrooms, and more people are working with electronic images.

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[63] *New York Times*, "New Picture Technology: Push Seeing Still Further from Believing," July 3, 1989, p. 42.

[64] *Folio*, "Retouching poses ethical questions," March 1985, p. 19.

[65] John Long, "Truth and the New Technology," *NPPA Magazine*, August 1990, p. 14-15.

The ethics of digital imaging is sparking debates by photojournalists and editors everywhere. The new technology has the credibility of the photograph under fire, and the people who must protect that credibility are the people manipulating images. How much manipulation is too much? Is it alright to change a feature photograph, but not a news photograph? A whole new set of ethical guidelines will have to be drawn and implemented. The new technology is not going to go away—the future of the media depends on its correct use. If the media cannot control the correct use of digital imaging, some of the new guidelines may be drawn up in court.

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OVER

"LOU GRANT"

Creating Characters for a Newspaper Drama

Presented to
American Journalism Historians Association
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October 1-3, 1992
Lawrence, Kansas

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"Lou Grant"

Creating Characters for a Newspaper Drama

When the television series "Lou Grant" was cancelled in the spring of 1982, numerous journalists around the United States reacted as if a respected colleague had died or another newspaper had folded. Even though the Los Angeles Tribune was only a make-believe paper that functioned at ten o'clock Monday night on CBS, reporters and editors mourned its passing. The Detroit Free Press even wrote an obituary for the Tribune's fictional city editor, calling Lou Grant "one of the best-known and most widely respected journalists of his day."[1] Other newspapers, while noting that the series was one of the few on television that dealt with issues, also acknowledged a fondness for seeing their profession in a different light. The Lansing State Journal said in a farewell editorial: "It is one of those rare Hollywood productions that tried to present a picture of the newspaper business as it is today, rather than giving the viewers the traditional raging editors and derring-do reporters."[2]

"Lou Grant" (1977-82) struck a nerve with journalists because it presented believable characters in a newspaper setting. Moreover, millions of people outside of journalism tuned into the program each week. In the five years that "Lou Grant" was aired, the annual average number of households watching the series was between 18.7 million and 19.8 million.[3] The program's annual share of the television audience (a percentage of households watching television at a particular time) was between 27 percent and 32 percent.[4] In comparison, the nation's two largest newspapers, the New York Daily News and the Wall Street Journal, each had a daily circulation of 1.6 million in early 1979.[5] The staff of the Los Angeles Tribune may have been the best-known newspaper journalists, albeit fictional ones, in the United States.

This study examines the creation of the key characters of "Lou Grant," using interviews with the producers of the series and the actors who played the fictional journalists. The study also uses unpublished character sketches that were written early in the series' creation. The process by which "Lou Grant" characters were created reflected, in part, the producers' attempts to provide a realistic view of life at a daily newspaper. The characters also were shaped by the conventions of dramatic television. However, the goal of creating realistic characters clashed at times with the dramatic requirements of a successful television series.

As a genre of television, the newspaper drama is nearly as old as the entertainment medium itself. The first regularly scheduled drama to be broadcast by a network, "Kraft Television Theater," appeared in May 1947.[6] Network programming grew steadily in the next two years. The first dramatic series with a newspaper setting, "The Big Story," debuted on NBC on September 16, 1949. A television anthology, "The Big Story" presented a different cast and setting each week. Episodes were based on actual case histories of journalists who solved crimes or otherwise served the public through their reporting. The reporter on whose story the episode was based also received an award from the show's sponsor.[7] Two weeks after "The Big Story" began, CBS began airing "The Front Page," a weekly series based on the Ben Hecht-Charles MacArthur play.[8] While "The Front Page" lasted only four months, "The Big Story" was broadcast for eight years, longer than any other newspaper drama.

In the three decades that followed "The Big Story" and "The Front Page," twenty-two newspaper dramas appeared on television.[9] Nearly half of them lasted a year or less, and most of the others were aired for two to four years. A notable exception was "Big Town," which was broadcast by CBS and then moved to Dumont and later to NBC. The series, which focused on a crusading daily called The Illustrated Press, was on the air from 1950 to 1956.[10] The critical and commercial success of the film version of All the President's Men, released in 1976, probably spawned the two newspaper dramas that were produced in early 1977. "The Andros Targets," which began on CBS on January 31, 1977, featured an investigative reporter for a New York newspaper.[11] "Kingston: Confidential," starring Raymond Burr as an executive of a communications empire, debuted on NBC on March 23, 1977.[12] Both series were cancelled after about five months.

"Lou Grant" would not have existed without its star, Edward Asner. The fall 1977 series was conceived as a vehicle for the Emmy-winning actor, who was finishing seven years as a member of the ensemble cast of the highly rated situation comedy "The Mary

Tyler Moore Show." Both CBS and MTM Productions wanted to continue working with Asner.[13] The creators of "The Mary Tyler Moore Show," James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, considered other ideas for dramatic shows for Asner but soon realized they could keep the popular and established Lou Grant character by moving him from the newsroom of a television station to that of a newspaper. The comedy series had referred to Lou Grant as a former newspaperman, and the new series would simply take him back to that occupation. However, the new show would be an hour-long drama rather than a half-hour situation comedy in order to more realistically portray life at a newspaper.[14]

To make the series believable as a drama, Brooks and Burns realized they needed to know as much as they could about the newspaper business.[15] They then called on another successful television producer, Gene Reynolds, to join the project. Reynolds, an actor as a youth in such films as Boys Town and Captains Courageous, had moved into writing, directing, and producing and was finishing five years with the popular series "M*A*S*H." Reynolds had gained a reputation for researching projects for a higher degree of accuracy than was common to most television shows. In creating the series "Room 222," Reynolds spent numerous hours at Los Angeles High School talking with teachers, students, and administrators. As producer of "M*A*S*H," he interviewed scores of doctors and nurses who served in medical units during the Korean War.[16]

In the months before filming began in the summer of 1977, the staff of "Lou Grant" visited newspapers up and down the West Coast. Much of their early research was done at the Los Angeles Times, partly because it was convenient to the studio and production offices of the series.[17] The Times also was a respected paper and had pledged to cooperate with their efforts to discover the state of journalism in the latter part of the 1970s. Its assistant managing editor, George Cotliar, encouraged his staff to share experiences and opinions with the "Lou Grant" producers.[18] Out of those interviews as well as books, journals, and trade publications about journalism sprang ideas for the characters that would make up the staff of the Tribune, the paper that would hire Lou Grant as its new city editor.[19]

II

The character of Lou Grant had been established in "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" as irascible and cantankerous with a warm, caring soul.[20] While those traits would carry over to the new program, the context was now a drama about a professional editor on a prestigious newspaper. "There is behavior that is acceptable and believable in a sitcom that you can't do in an hour drama," Reynolds said. "The parameters are much narrower."[21] For instance, on "The Mary Tyler Moore Show," Lou Grant kept a bottle of Scotch in his desk. For "Lou Grant," such an action would have damaged the show's credibility as a realistic look at journalism. "If he pulled a bottle from the bottom of his desk, it becomes an entirely different thing," added writer and series developer Leon Tokatyan. "Now he has an alcohol problem."[22]

At first, there was discussion that Lou should be the assistant city editor, a more believable position for a journalist who had not worked on a newspaper for a decade. That would have put three people over him instead of two, the managing editor and the publisher, and it raised concern that Lou's stature would be diminished.[23] "He had to be the city editor," Reynolds said. "You've got to put your guy at the helm. You've got to make your guy the quarterback."[24] To make the hiring of Lou believable, Tokatyan included a storyline in which the publisher, Margaret Pynchon, is such a tyrant that no one wants to work with her.[25] The first episode, "Cophouse," established that Lou is hired as city editor to replace yet another man who could not handle the pressures of the job or Mrs. Pynchon.

Some actors prefer to do their own research as a way of getting insight into a role. Having worked on his high school newspaper in Kansas City, Kansas, Asner knew how a story was edited. Throughout the series, he relied on the research that guided the writers of the scripts rather than doing his own.[26] He read about contemporary journalism but made only a perfunctory visit to the Los Angeles Times. Unlike other actors on the series, Asner was a star and believed he probably would have been asked more questions about himself than he could have asked them about journalism. In fact, he considered it a waste of time.

> When all was said and done, when the producer-writers had done all their research, when the advisers

> had given all their expertise, there's nothing for me to do. My job is to act and to get the greatest meaning out of the simplest line. And if I do that well and interestingly, then I will have done my part for journalism.[27]

A different approach was taken by Robert Walden, an actor trained in the theater who had appeared in more than three dozen television shows and had been a regular on "The New Doctors" segment of the series "The Bold Ones" in 1972.[28] For his role as senior resident in the 1971 film The Hospital, Walden read medical books, interviewed doctors, and virtually lived in hospitals. He took a similar approach when he played lawyers, police officers, and junkies during his career.[29] Cast as reporter Joe Rossi in "Lou Grant," Walden spent as much time as possible at the Los Angeles Times, observing reporters, going out on stories with them, and eventually writing articles for some newspapers as his contribution to making Rossi seem real.[30]

"We wanted a hot, ambitious, ruthless, understandable, and likeable character," said Reynolds, who recalled meeting reporters who had such traits.[31] Yet, according to Reynolds, Rossi did not turn off viewers because he was a recognizable character and was human. "You can still like a character and even admire a character who has to be that way to get his job done or who has those kind of human characteristics."[32] Tokatyan described Rossi as "an abrasive smart-aleck who has talent but who is so full of himself that he needs to be guided."[33]

A twelve-page description of the regular characters, with the exception of Lou Grant, was written early in the production of the show.[34] Joe Rossi, a general assignment reporter for the Tribune, was described as twenty-seven years old and certain that he is bound for greatness. Rossi is a crack reporter, perhaps the best in the city, and one who is abrasive, rude, and obnoxious, and not at all modest about his talents.

> But behind his brashness, there is a dark and sparkling charm; and above everything else, he is one hell of a newspaperman. Wherever there is a free press, he would be at home. Wherever there is a balloon filled with hot and pompous air, you'll find him sharpening a needle. He was born cynical, and nothing he has encountered since has mellowed that cynicism.[35]

Rossi also hides a vulnerable humanity, the sketch added, but it is exposed only rarely. The sketch concluded: "He is neither liked nor understood, which is -- he insists -- fine with him. But he is respected."[36]

The Rossi character was influenced by David Shaw, the media critic of the Los Angeles Times. Shaw was interviewed during the research process and recalled spending a great deal of time with Walden over the next several weeks or months as the actor learned how journalists worked.[37] As the character of Rossi was being conceived during the initial stages of research, Tokatyan recalled, someone at the Times described Shaw as "an arrogant little prick."[38] That description eventually was applied to Rossi. The sketch said his colleagues at the Tribune consider him "that arrogant, little creep" and added: "Their assessment of him won't change, even after the Pulitzer Prizes he is sure he will win. And Rossi couldn't care less."[39] Interestingly, Shaw was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for criticism in 1991.

III

The original seven characters included reporter Carla Mardigian, placing a woman in the newsroom and offering a character who was in stark contrast to Joe Rossi. Carla Mardigian appeared only in the first three episodes of "Lou Grant." The actress hired by the producers, Rebecca Balding, was fired and replaced by Linda Kelsey, initially a guest on the fourth episode in the role of reporter Billie Newman. No sketch was written for Billie Newman, but the qualities of Carla Mardigian seem to apply to the part of the woman reporter in the series, no matter what she was called or who played her.

Comparing her to Rossi ("unlike him, sensitive to her fellow human beings") and establishing her as a counterweight to his presence in the newsroom, the Mardigian sketch described her as "stunning and talented" and "an enigma to many, a paradox to all."[40] It focused as much on the sexuality of the 28-year-old character as her prowess as a reporter:

> A tough competitor in what is still basically a man's field, there is no one who has ever called her by that stock male business put-down: a ballsy chick. Because Carla is first and last, that fantasy figure in the very curvaceous flesh: a totally feminine woman not above using her femininity when going after a story or a man she wants, yet who knows her own real worth and is quite comfortable with it.[41]

Balding graduated in theater arts from the University of Kansas and came to Los Angeles in 1976 from Chicago, having worked for four years in Equity theater.[42] She surprised herself by finding work and an agent almost immediately. She also appeared in the television movie "The Gathering," which starred Ed Asner. Her only research for "Lou Grant" came when she was sent to the Los Angeles Times to watch reporter Narda Zacchino at work. "I was just amazed how much of it's done on the phone," Balding recalled. "I was really impressed . . . it was just like in All the President's Men."[43] Like Asner, she relied more on the script as a guide than any research she could have done. "In television casting, you are essentially cast for who you are, and there's not a whole lot of character work done, particularly if you are the female lead," she said. "What you are, who you are, is what they get and generally why you're cast."[44]

The creators of the series, however, were concerned with Balding's portrayal almost immediately. "From the very first day of dailies, I said this is not working," according to Tokatyan. "Walden chewed her up. She looked like she was going to break into tears any second. She was taking it too seriously."[45] Reynolds saw the problem not as much as Balding failing to hold her own against Walden but as being unconvincing in the role of a woman reporter. "In relationship to the material, to the issues, it was all just not quite believable that she would have that kind of maturity to be given the job," Reynolds said.[46]

While the sketch contended that Carla would not be put down as a "ballsy chick,"[47] Balding used the term to explain, in part, why she was fired from the show. For the first episode filmed, "Hoax," she followed director Jay Sandrich's suggestion to be more cute than tough. "I honestly think that maybe I got off on the wrong foot with the first show," she said. "I wanted to go in a different direction, which essentially is going against type, going against the way I look."[48] She later met with the producers after the filming of "Hoax," which would be aired after the pilot, "Cophouse," and another episode, "Hostage." "The producers called me into the office and talked to me and said, you know, what you did in this isn't why we cast you," she recalled. "You had a different quality in your reading we'd like to see . . . more gutsy, ballsy."[49]

By the time "Hostage" was filmed, the producers had decided to replace Balding. She had played a minor role in each of the three episodes filmed by then -- none had yet aired -- and wondered when a script would showcase Carla. She remembers the producers asking to meet with her after the day's shooting, but they insisted that they come to her trailer rather than meeting her at the production offices. That made her nervous.

> They came to the trailer and I just looked at their faces, the three of them. I said, oh, my God, you guys are going to fire me. And they said, well, we don't like to think of it that way, we just like to think of it as letting you go. . . . I know how badly they felt. I mean, God, what an awful thing to have to do, come tell some poor little girl who thinks she's got the world on a string she doesn't, that she's not part of this thing anymore.[50]

Balding was told there was poor chemistry between her and Walden and that she appeared too young and vulnerable, which might cause the audience to be frightened for her when she got into tough situations. Reflecting on her work on "Lou Grant," Balding acknowledged that she had been too self-conscious in her first major television role. "Working in the newsroom set, there were jillions of people and I was obsessed. I was thinking all the time, you can't screw up, Rebecca, you've gotta . . . and I think that stopped me from doing my best work, certainly."[51] Not only was she fired that day, but a tree on the MTM lot fell on her roadster and a toothache resulted in a root canal.

"Well, I cried all night," Balding said. "I was very well behaved when they were firing me. I heard later they were so relieved."[52] Although hurt, she tried not to be bitter and made a point of attending some "Lou Grant" parties to show there were no hard feelings. Her career continued with a television movie and a horror film, and she went on to appear in the series Soap for three years. "Your first series is like your first love affair," she said. "It just always will have a special place in my heart. Plus Ed. Ed and I got along really well."[53]

Finding a replacement for Balding was on the minds of the producers when they were casting an actress for a role in the episode "Henhouse."[54] In the story, a reporter for the so-called "women's page" of the paper covers the murder of a well-known writer she was set to interview. The reporter, Billie Newman, and her editor run afoul of Rossi and Lou, who do not hold much hope for women covering hard news. By the end of the show, Billie earns their respect and an offer from Lou to join the city staff. To play Billie, Reynolds wanted Linda Kelsey, who had worked on "M*A*S*H*." In fact, Kelsey was Reynolds' first choice for the role of Carla, but for some reason she was scratched from the list of actresses while Reynolds was out of town.[55]

At that time in her career, Kelsey was not interested in joining the cast of a series. She had decided that the best roles for women on series television were in guest appearances, not regular characters. "I was the one who the plot was about because I was the guest actor," she recalled, adding that in many series, "all the woman got to do was say, you can do it, honey, or run down a hallway with a gun out."[56] Her agent called her about reading for a guest role on Ed Asner's new series, and she did so without knowing that the producers were looking for a replacement for Balding. Kelsey was surprised to find many other actresses reading for the part. She was asked to read again for the producers and other studio personnel. "I though, boy, they're really careful how they cast these guest parts," she said. "And then they asked me all these questions -- this is kind of comedic, but do you have experience doing heavy drama?"[57]

To the producers, Kelsey brought to the role of a woman reporter what Balding had lacked. "Linda Kelsey somehow had the maturity, the intelligence, the point of view, the kind of sentiment that was very believable," Reynolds said.[58] Kelsey's agent called on a Friday with the producers' offer for the part in the episode as well as a continuing role in "Lou Grant." Although she asked for the weekend to consider the offer, Kelsey decided within hours of the call to accept. "You jerk," she remembered telling herself. "You have to do this. This is MTM, this is Ed Asner, this is brilliant writing. This is a wonderful part. What are you waiting for?"[59] Kelsey, who had appeared in a guest role in "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" three years earlier, then became Tribune reporter Billie Newman. A native of Minneapolis, she had appeared on "The Rockford Files," "Barnaby Jones," and several other shows and in television movies.[60]

Set to begin work on the show in a week, Kelsey immediately began doing research into journalism. The producers had her watch the film All the President's Men, but she was not comfortable with her lack of first-hand knowledge.[61] She took a trip to San Jose and was granted permission to "hang out" at the local newspaper. While making the rounds on the police beat, Kelsey was introduced as a cub reporter for the Los Angeles Tribune. She then visited the San Francisco Chronicle, talking to reporters and editors and gaining a sense of the activity in a newsroom. "I work from various ways, but I need to know what it feels like and what the sounds are and what it looks like," she said. "I wanted just to sit quietly and watch the paper go through deadline."[62] Kelsey returned to Los Angeles and began a five-year stay on "Lou Grant."

IV

The creators of the series had decided to have a woman publisher preside over the Tribune, in part because they wanted a female hero on television. "If we'd had a male publisher, except for Billie Newman, we'd have an all-male cast," Reynolds recalled. "We just liked the idea. And there is the precedent of women publishers."[63] The name Pynchon was chosen, according to Tokatyan, for its 17th-century quality and Restoration ring. He perceived the character as a cross between Dorothy Schiff and Katharine Graham, two of the most prominent women publishers in the United States.[64] Schiff published the New York Post from 1942, when her husband George Backer, became ill, until she sold the paper to Rupert Murdoch in 1976.[65] Graham's father, Eugene Meyer, bought the Washington Post in 1933, and control of it shifted to her husband, Phil Graham, in 1948. When Graham died in 1963, his widow became publisher of the Post and Newsweek. Katharine Graham became a national figure in the wake of the paper's prize-winning coverage of the Watergate scandal.[66] The Pynchon character, added Tokatyan, was "an amalgam, nothing at all like the real people."[67]

Yet, the character sketch for Margaret Pynchon did not refer to Graham but mentioned Dorothy Schiff by name, noting that Pynchon shares her penchant for trivia and affection for gossip.[68] Her father bought the paper, according to the character history, but in the series it was suggested that her husband had died and left her to run the Tribune. The two-page sketch established a quirky older woman whose constant companion is a yapping Yorkie, but also one who is devoted to a newspaper that is foundering in a highly competitive news market. She is described, in part, as:

> A woman of great charm and power, somewhat eccentric. She can be capricious, arbitrary, maddening. But it is her paper and she has the right to run it any way she sees fit. . . . She can and does

> rise to situations that call for insight, fairness, and decisiveness. . . . And if she is capricious and at times arbitrary, there remains always an underlying strength of purpose. She believes in this newspaper her father founded and her dearest wish is to have it return to the days when it was synonymous with reason, objectivity, truth.[69]

One of the actresses considered for the part was Nancy Marchand. A native of Buffalo, New York, her live television work included the role of the plain girl who falls in love with a butcher in the classic drama "Marty" in 1953. She worked on the stage in the 1960s and returned to television in the 1970s on the soap opera "Love of Life" and the prime-time series "Beacon Hill."[70] A resident of New York, she was suggested for the part by Ed Asner and flew to Los Angeles for a reading at the studio.[71] She was awarded the role, and the flight to Los Angeles became the first of many. Marchand commuted from New York to Los Angeles for the five-year run of the series, usually working only one or two days on the show and then returning to New York.

To prepare for the part of Margaret Pynchon, Marchand read about journalism and women publishers, but she did not visit newspapers or meet with Graham or Schiff. Ted Thackrey Jr., the show's technical adviser and a newsman for the Los Angeles Times, contended that Marchand based Mrs. Pynchon's upper-crust accent on Schiff, his stepmother.[72] However, Marchand does not recall meeting her and says the accent was a way of suggesting Mrs. Pynchon came from money. As for the basis of the character, Marchand said she made no great effort to research the part herself. "I know that their research was enormous and very thorough," she said. "They really cared about making it as realistic as possible."[73]

The managing editor of the Tribune, Charlie Hume, was influenced by George Cotliar, the assistant managing editor of the Los Angeles Times.[74] Cotliar was the first Times person the "Lou Grant" team had met -- he had allowed the show's producers to talk to reporters and editors for background information. For Reynolds, Cotliar represented the opposite of the managing editor that appeared in the play and films version of The Front Page, which featured a tough, aggressive loudmouth. "He really surprised me," Reynolds said of Cotliar. "Here we have this very soft-spoken, gentle guy. I really liked the idea of not going with what we've seen in the movies. Here was a guy who was very bright, very sharp, very capable."[75]

The part went to Mason Adams, an actor based in New York with an extensive background in theater and radio, including 17 years on the radio drama "Pepper Young's Family."[76] He had made an impression on Gene Reynolds and Allan Burns with his work in a recent television film, "The Deadliest Season." Adams played the nasty head of a hockey organization, a change of pace for an actor who usually was not cast as a villain. "I assume that he saw a certain hard-edged quality that would match up with a normal gentleness in my personality so that it would be a good combination for Charlie Hume," Adams said.[77] "Lou Grant" was Adams' first series as a regular, and he was dubious about moving from the East Coast to Los Angeles to be one of seven characters on a series. Assured that Charlie Hume would be an integral part of the show, Adams joined the project and, at 60, took what turned out to be "the part of my life."[78]

In addition to reading the copious amount of research gathered by the "Lou Grant" staff, Adams conducted his own research into the role of the managing editor. While riding a commuter train to New York from his home in Westport, Connecticut, Adams was introduced by a friend to another Westport resident, Bill Brink. Brink, managing editor of the New York Daily News since 1974, invited Adams to visit the Daily News and learn about the newspaper business.[79] "My main education was at the Daily News," Adams said. "I really got a sense of what it was like to preside over a news conference. . . . This was a whole new world to me, and I got some insights from it."[80]

The initial conception of Charlie Hume as a somewhat weak personality eventually caused a problem for the show. Hume was described in the character sketch as a cautious, insecure man who feels pressure from several sources -- the publisher, his family, and Lou himself. "A careful man," the sketch said, "with a surface ease belied by two very sweaty palms. A good man, with a very nervous stomach."[81] A graduate of Dartmouth, the sketch said, Hume worked briefly for Random House before joining the Philadelphia Inquirer as a cub reporter and moving from paper to paper in his career. "He was a hungry reporter for too long. Whatever it is that makes a newspaperman eluded him. He feels he landed in his present job through a series of lucky mishaps and moves, and he does not want to lose it."[82] Still, the sketch maintained, Hume is not incompetent and does his job well, even if he has "lost his nerve."[83]

Charlie's cautious and insecure nature came across clearly in the first episodes of "Lou Grant," so much so that his change from a weak-willed managing editor to a stronger character was the most obvious change in the first season. "We saw him as being totally under the thumb of the publisher," said Leon Tokatyan, "someone who was desperately afraid of losing his job because he had a family."[84] Adams, too, did not like playing Charlie as a buffoon or wimp and spoke against that characterization. "This guy was managing editor of a newspaper. He's the major general. You don't have a wimpy managing editor," Adams said. "He didn't remain a nervous, nail-biting fellow too long."[85] In addition, Tokatyan noted, the characterization dragged on Charlie's usefullness to the story. "After a while it got in the way," Tokatyan said, "because we needed someone on Ed's level being able to talk back and forth."[86] These problems were spotted quickly, according to Gene Reynolds, and a stronger side of Charlie soon emerged.[87]

V

Jack Bannon was a "day player," an actor who worked for a few days on a show and then moved on to another role.[88] He also was a part of a show business family. Father Jim Bannon was a radio announcer and an actor best known for his work in the Red

Ryder series of western films. Bannon's mother was actress Bea Benaderet, the star of the comedy series "Petticoat Junction."[89] By the time "Lou Grant" was being created, Jack Bannon had appeared in several series in the 1960s and 1970s, including "The Beverly Hillbillies," "Petticoat Junction," "Mannix," and "Green Acres," for which he also worked as dialogue coach.[90] Dining at a restaurant with a friend one day in 1977, he noticed Ed Asner sitting nearby. Bannon introduced himself to "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" star and simply thanked him for "a lot of wonderful nights," a compliment Asner graciously accepted. "I went back to my table and sat down," Bannon recalled, "and three weeks later shook hands with him on a set and did that show for five years. It was amazing."[91]

At some point during those three weeks, Bannon was encouraged by his agent to read for a part in the new show that would star Asner. All he knew about the character was the name, Donovan, and that he was Irish. When Bannon read for the part, he did so in an Irish brogue, but the producers immediately asked him to drop it. Gene Reynolds then offered Bannon the chair behind his desk, a familiar setting for a desk-bound assistant city editor. Bannon went through the scene not once but, at the request of Allan Burns, twice. It was a good sign, Bannon thought, and he left the studio with a positive feeling about the audition. In four days, he was offered the role.[92]

Bannon later was given a sheet of information about the part, perhaps the character sketch that was written about

Donovan. The sketch described Arthur Donovan Jr. as happy and satisfied with himself and his job as assistant city editor. In addition, Donovan was a pursuer of women. The sketch referred to Donovan's hitch in the Navy during the Korean War, a period in which he spent "a credible number of hours in Seoul, Tokyo, and San Francisco learning his craft: coition."[93] He became a newspaperman, according to the sketch, after he saw some pornographic pictures of a movie queen taken by a staff photographer for the Los Angeles Times. Noting that the photographer had stayed past his allotted time for the dalliance and then had billed the newspaper for overtime, the sketch concluded: "Obviously, this was a milieu made for Donovan."[94]

Donovan also is a sharp dresser, a connoisseur of food and wine, and one who juggles one deal after another in pursuit of a condominium in Tahiti, a fifty-four-foot sloop, or anything else that catches his eye. In his heart, he loves being a newspaperman, but insists to others that the job is only a convenient base from which to operate.

> He is forever disappearing for "coffee" returning an hour later smelling of expensive perfume, smiling his Errol Flynn smile, and picking long silken hair of varying shades from between his Errol Flynn teeth.
>
> But when Lou must leave the desk, Donovan takes over the Desk with a verve and competence that gives him away. (He could be brilliant, but that might blow his scene. They just might give him a more responsible, better paying, higher ranking job. God forbid.)[95]

Donovan and Lou get along, according to the sketch, even though Lou's style of dress makes him wince. He is summed up in the last sentence of the sketch: "Donovan -- full of stories and that great Irish charm -- is a hell of a lot of fun."[96]

Donovan's competence at the Tribune probably was stressed in the sketch because of his key function in the show: an able assistant whose presence allowed Lou Grant to leave the newsroom. "We put him there to take over the desk so Ed could be doing things in the field," Leon Tokatyan said.[97] His natty appearance was based in part on some editors Reynolds had noticed wearing cuff links, tailored shirts, and vests.[98] "We needed a contrast," added Tokatyan. "Ed was supposed to be very sloppy, puts on mismatched socks, and things like that. The assistant city editor was in a white collar, striped shirt, always a vest, extremely well dressed."[99]

Bannon spent a few days at the Los Angeles Times observing assistant editors, noting the pressures from constant phone calls and the complaints from reporters whose stories had been edited.

> I tried to look at the way people handled things, phones, those pencils with no erasers. . . . I tried to get a feel for that rather than just make a complete pretend out of it. It's probably a job that not as many people would know as much about as they would about reporting. You see reporters, you see them on television. You don't see assistant city editors, generally.[100]

Bannon also relied on the advice of Ted Thackrey, the show's technical adviser, when he wanted to know what an assistant would do in a particular situation.[101]

To round out its fictional staff, "Lou Grant" needed a photographer. The character sketch noted that his name was Dennis Price but immediately pointed out that he is called The Animal. "Twenty six years old," the sketch said, "with very long blonde hair pulled back in a pony tail, he is a consumate slob in everything except his work and anything related to his work."[102] The sketch continued to focus on two aspects of the character, his brilliance as a photographer and his disdain for personal appearance and, at times, hygiene. "He is unique," the sketch concluded, "and only his press card saves him at times from being hauled off for questioning."[103]

The actor chosen for the role was Daryl Anderson, a Seattle native appearing in his first television role after having moved to Los Angeles the previous year.[104] Tall and lean with dark hair and a stubble of beard, Anderson was not the embodiment of Animal as envisioned by Tokatyan. "I remember Allan Burns coming in and saying we've just cast Animal and you're going to fall in love with him immediately, and I did," Tokatyan said.[105] The contrast between old-school Lou Grant and Animal was "humor personified," Tokatyan added. "He was hysterical. Sort of slouching through with his cameras. But he was a brilliant photographer."[106]

A major source of information about photography for Anderson was Nikon, the camera manufacturer that provided equipment for him to use in the series. He attended a seminar sponsored by Nikon and was later instructed on how to use equipment by a Nikon representative.[107] Anderson learned more about photojournalism from Boris Yaro, a reporter-photographer for the Los Angeles Times. He went on assignments with Yaro, shooting pictures and seeing how a photographer functioned within a newspaper.

> I picked up very quickly the photographer's feeling of being slighted, the awareness that the picture on the

> front page is what sells the paper to someone who's not a subscriber, and that that's not recognized. And that reporters look at photographers as illustrators. They don't know each other. When they go to a news event, part of the tension is to what degree the reporter is going to instruct the photographer as if he's the assistant. Photographers are very resistant to that. They're also telling a story, just through a different method.[108]

Animal drew more criticism from journalists, mainly photographers, than any other "Lou Grant" character. News Photographer, a magazine published by the National Press Photographers Association, published numerous letters of complaint about Animal's slovenly appearance. Only a few reflected support of Animal as an accurate representation of some photographers.[109] The president of the Professional Photographers Society of New York, noting a "deep resentment" toward the character, suggested that the 17,000 members of the national organization write the show's sponsors in protest.[110]

Reynolds thought such critics overreacted, and he contended that their complaints had no impact on the series or the Animal character.[111] Anderson, too, did not recall any change in the way the part was written or performed because of criticism from some photographers. "For every one of those," he said, "there's somebody else saying I knew somebody so much worse."[112] Still, Reynolds said in retrospect he would drop the name Animal, even though his research had turned up a photographer with the nickname. However, he added, he would not change the appearance of the character. "If he'd been called Benny, I don't think anybody would have said how dare you dress this way," Reynolds said. "I think the word colored the appearance."[113]

VI

Examining the process by which roles were created and actors were cast for "Lou Grant" indicates that two primary forces were at work in the series. First, the producers sought a strong link to realism by talking to numerous reporters and editors. They rejected stereotypes of previous television series and motion pictures and set out to build new images of journalists through extensive research. Gene Reynolds recalled that the characters essentially were composites of men and women the producers and writers met, and Leon Tokatyan added that personality traits of certain people they had interviewed were intensified for the series.[114] Some journalists, such as David Shaw and Narda Zacchino, may have had a stronger influence on the development of characters Joe Rossi and the woman reporter.

Whether any of the characters can be said to be based on a specific person is debatable. The issue becomes a matter of perception for those involved in the process. For instance, Zacchino has insisted that Lou Grant was based upon the Times metropolitan editor of that period, Mark Murphy.[115] Murphy, however, has been equally adamant that he was not the model for Lou Grant, although he was interviewed at length during the research process.[116] The argument that Murphy was the model for Lou Grant ignores the fact that Lou Grant had appeared on "The

Mary Tyler Moore Show" the previous seven years. "I think that really at the heart of everything is identification with the character," said Tokatyan.

> There are things in these characters that strike a chord in the people who are watching. I think if a character is successful, he or she will have some kind of universal beam that will set off these things. If the characters are right, it will resonate with a viewer. And if they have been talked to, that compounds the belief that they are the ones being depicted on the screen. The only one who didn't was the photographers across America, who hated it.[117]

The second primary force in the creation of the characters involved the conventions of dramatic television. The staff of the Los Angeles Tribune was created and cast for contrast and conflict as much as it was designed to represent the variety of personalities in the newsroom. "Drama and conflict are synonymous," Tokatyan said. "You want a mix of interesting people. You don't want two, three characters to be the same."[118] While striving for reality, the producers and writers of "Lou Grant" had to depart from reality at times to serve the dramatic requirements of the series.[119]

One example is Lou Grant's frequent departures from the city room, an unlikely occurrence for a real city editor but an action that allowed the character to become involved in a variety of storylines. Joe Rossi could be arrogant and aggressive, but he also had to be respected and likable on some level. Relatively few newspapers are published by women, but a woman publisher helped create a suitable mix of male and female characters in "Lou Grant." Even though not all reporters are aggressive, one actress was replaced by another to develop a stronger portrayal of a woman reporter. A soft-spoken managing editor went against the stereotype, but the character in "Lou Grant" was given more backbone when he was perceived as being too soft.

"If we ever made a departure from reality," according to Ed Asner, "it was never unknowingly. It was always for a purpose."[120] To the delight of many journalists, the overriding purpose of such departures from reality was to enhance viewers' identification with the "Lou Grant" characters. Such is the nature of a television series, certainly moreso than the producers' desire to build good feelings toward journalism. While a motion picture might feature a thoroughly unlikeable reporter as its star, a weekly series could not afford to alienate its audience if it expected to build a following. It would seem, then, that journalists or any other professionals hoping for a positive portrayal will find it more often in a weekly series than in a film or in a supporting character in a series focusing on another profession.

"Lou Grant" premiered on September 20, 1977, and remained on the air for 114 episodes, becoming television's longest-running newspaper drama in twenty years. The series often dealt with ethical issues of journalism, such as paying for stories, using deception to gain information, and a variety of conflicts of interest. It also established itself as one of the few series that dealt with social issues. CBS contended that the show was cancelled because of falling ratings, but Ed Asner and others have cited his controversial political activities and the conservative mood of the nation as factors.[121]

Fans of the show reacted with a mixture of outrage and disappointment.[122] Journalists were particularly melancholy over the loss of television characters who had touched them as had no others. "Our idols, Rossi and Billie, have been shattered by cruel network moguls who care not a whit about the acceptance of journalists in mainstream American society," wrote William Hickey, television writer for the Cleveland Plain Dealer.[123] Indeed, the adventures of the staff of the Los Angeles Tribune were over. "What about Lou and Art, Billie and Rossi, Charlie and Mrs. Pynchon?" asked Paul Povse of the State Journal-Register of Springfield, Illinois. "These are some of the most memorable people ever on television, and I'm going to miss them."[124]

END NOTES

1. Colin Covert, "Lou Grant: He Was Quite a Character," Detroit Free Press, May 13, 1982.

2. Editorial, "We'll Miss Good Old Lou," Lansing State Journal, May 23, 1982.

3. Arnold Becker, letter to the author, Jan. 30, 1992. Becker, vice president of television research for CBS Inc., provided ratings information for "Lou Grant" based on the Nielsen Television Index.

4. George E. Delury, ed., The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1980 (New York: Newspaper Enterprise Association, Inc., 1980), pp. 427-28.

5. Arnold Becker, letter to the author, Jan. 30, 1992.

6. Tim Brooks and Earle Marsh, The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, 1946-Present, 5th ed. (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992), p. xii.

7. Ibid., p. 94.

8. Alex McNeil, Total Television: A Comprehensive Guide to Programming from 1948 to the Present, 3rd ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 280.

9. For the purposes of this study, a "newspaper drama" is defined as a dramatic series with a newspaper as its primary setting or a newspaper reporter as its main character. A review of the two television encyclopedias already cited, The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows and Total Television, reveals twenty-two newspaper dramas airing between 1949 and 1977. They are: "Big Town" (1950-56, CBS, Dumont, NBC), "Crime Photographer" (1951-52, CBS), "Foreign Intrigue" (1951-55, syndicated), "Front Page Detective" (1951-53, Dumont), "Not For Publication" (1951-52, Dumont), "Night Editor" (1954, Dumont), "Wire Service" (1956-59, ABC), "Jefferson Drum" (1958-59, NBC), "Deadline" (1959, syndicated), "Man Without A Gun" (1959, syndicated), "New York Confidential" (1959, syndicated), "Exclusive" (1960, syndicated), "The Roaring Twenties" (1960-62, ABC), "Hong Kong" (1960-61, ABC), "Target: The Corruptors" (1961-62, ABC), "Saints and Sinners" (1962-63, NBC), "The Reporter" (1964, CBS), "Night Stalker" (1974-75, ABC), "Gibbsville" (1976, NBC), "Kingston: Confidential" (1977, NBC), "The Andros Targets"

(1977, CBS), and "Lou Grant" (1977-82, CBS). Two newspaper dramas have appeared since "Lou Grant" left the air: "Hard Copy" (1987, CBS), and "Capital News" (1990, CBS).

10. Brooks and Marsh, The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, p. 95.

11. Ibid., p. 479.

12. Ibid., p. 43.

13. Allan Burns, interview with author, Los Angeles, Calif., Dec. 17, 1991.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Gene Reynolds, interview with author, Los Angeles, Calif., Dec. 4, 1991.

17. Ibid.

18. George Cotliar, telephone conversation with author, Feb. 13, 1992.

19. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

20. Brooks and Marsh, The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, pp. 561-62.

21. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

22. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

23. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991, and Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

24. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

25. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

26. Edward Asner, interview with author, Los Angeles, Calif., Dec. 9, 1991.

27. Ibid.

28. See David Inman, The TV Encyclopedia (New York: Perigee Press Books, 1991), p. 760; and Brooks and Marsh, The Complete Directory to Prime Time Network TV Shows, p. 635.

29. David Shaw, "Actor Wants Byline," TV Guide, Jan. 21,

1978, p. 18.

30. Robert Walden, interview with author, Los Angeles, Calif., Dec. 5, 1991.

31. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

34. Property of Daryl Anderson, used with permission. Anderson recalled that the sketches were distributed by production staff early in the series. The sketches are titled "The Trib" and carry no author or date. Tokatyan said he probably contributed to the sketches and may have written them, but he added that he does not remember.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. David Shaw, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 28, 1992.

38. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

39. Character sketches, Anderson papers.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. Rebecca Balding, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 14, 1992.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Ibid.*

45. Leon Tokatyan, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 16, 1992.

46. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1992.

47. Character sketches, Anderson papers.

48. Rebecca Balding conversation, Jan. 14, 1992.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

55. Ibid.

56. Linda Kelsey, interview with author, Ojai, Calif., Dec. 12, 1991.

57. Ibid.

58. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

59. Linda Kelsey interview, Dec. 12, 1991.

60. Inman, TV Encyclopedia, p. 475.

61. Linda Kelsey interview, Dec. 12, 1991.

62. Ibid.

63. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

64. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

65. William H. Taft, Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century Journalists (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), pp. 306-7.

66. Taft, Twentieth-Century Journalists, pp. 133-34.

67. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

68. Character sketches, Anderson papers.

69. Ibid.

70. Inman, TV Encyclopedia, pp. 562-63.

71. Nancy Marchand, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 13, 1992.

72. Ted Thackrey Jr., telephone conversation with author, Jan. 10, 1992.

73. Nancy Marchand interview, Jan. 13, 1992.

74. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

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77. Mason Adams, telephone conversation with author, Feb. 12, 1992.

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79. Bill Brink, telephone conversation with author, Feb. 13, 1992.

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81. Character sketch, Anderson papers.

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83. Ibid.

84. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

85. Mason Adams interview, Feb. 12, 1992.

86. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

87. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

88. Frank Swertlow, "How Jack Bannon Hates His Hot Tub," TV Guide, June 12, 1982, p. 20.

89. Jerry Buck, "Bannon Content With Mild-Mannered Contributions," Kansas City Star, June 28, 1981.

90. Inman, TV Encyclopedia, pp. 76-77.

91. Jack Bannon, interview with author, Los Angeles, Calif., Dec. 4, 1991.

92. Ibid.

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94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

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97. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

98. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

99. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

100. Jack Bannon interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

101. Ibid.

102. Character sketch, Anderson papers.

103. Ibid.

104. Daryl Anderson, interview with author, Los Angeles, Calif., Dec. 3, 1991.

105. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

106. Ibid.

107. Daryl Anderson interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

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109. See "NewsViews," News Photographer, January 1978, p. 23; "NewsViews," News Photographer, April 1978, pp. 4-5; Jim Gordon, "The Lone Ranger Rides Again," News Photographer, July 1978, pp. 22-26; "NewsViews," News Photographer, September 1978, p. 43; and "Letters," News Photographer, December 1978, p. 42.

110. Letter from Douglas Orbaker to Gene Reynolds, Oct. 16, 1978. Property of Daryl Anderson, used with permission.

111. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

112. Daryl Anderson interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

113. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991.

114. Gene Reynolds interview, Dec. 4, 1991; and Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

115. Narda Zacchino, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 16, 1982.

116. Mark Murphy, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 22, 1992.

117. Leon Tokatyan, telephone conversation with author, Jan. 16, 1992.

118. Leon Tokatyan interview, Dec. 3, 1991.

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121. The cancellation is discussed by Todd Gitlin in the introduction of Inside Prime Time (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), pp. 3-16.

122. For a sample of letters pro and con about the cancellation, see Philadelphia Inquirer, May 13, 1982; Cincinnati Enquirer, May 21, 1982; and San Francisco Examiner, May 15, 1982.

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EISENHOWER, McCARTHY, AND NEWS CONFERENCES THAT FOUGHT BACK: A TURNING POINT IN WHITE HOUSE PRESS RELATIONS, 1953-1954

by

Craig Allen
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ABSTRACT

The Joseph McCarthy affair in the early 1950s was a pivotal study in the mass media although its traditional questions have been confined to a two-way association between McCarthy and the press; McCarthy's rise and sudden downfall have both been explained by the attention he aroused in the journalistic community. New questions stemming from the McCarthy affair emerged in the 1980s when White House papers covering this period were declassified and scholars for the first time used original materials to document Dwight Eisenhower's response to the many unseemly events. These papers revealed a three-way Eisenhower-McCarthy-press dialogue and tended to suggest the press, rather than expediting a conclusion to the affair, was mostly a conduit for a hidden-hand tug-of-war between the president and the senator. A result was a major development in presidential "journalism": Eisenhower's decision in December 1953 to put his news conferences "on the record" for the first time. Eisenhower, repulsed as much by the press as by McCarthy, wanted his exact words in print to give guidance not just to the public but to leaders in Congress who controlled McCarthy's fate. While Eisenhower's perseverance in the McCarthy affair is still debated, his "on the record" news conferences marked a turning point in an increasingly distant press-presidential relationship.

Eisenhower, McCarthy, and News Conferences That Fought Back:

A Turning Point In White House Press Relations, 1953-1954

The anti-communism crusade of Joseph McCarthy in the early 1950s and the reporting of it by journalists remains one of the major studies of the Cold War press. Not widely known is that the McCarthy affair helped precipitate one of the landmark developments in press-presidential relations. This was Dwight Eisenhower's decision in late 1953 to put his presidential news conferences on the journalistic "record" for the first time and allow reporters to quote freely from circulated transcripts of these events. Although the news conferences have been recognized as a vital point of contact between journalists and the chief executive, it is seldom recalled that these affairs were initially conceived as "background" sessions and that the press, while restricted in what it could report, relished an informal give and take. When these restrictions were lifted by Eisenhower at the peak of the McCarthy controversy, reporters applauded. Yet the reason Eisenhower had done this was never explained to them; many reporters complained later of being a conduit for the president's communication.

McCarthy largely inspired Eisenhower's revision in news conference procedure. Although he was accused of inaction in the McCarthy affair, Eisenhower was beset by the activities of the Wisconsin senator. Because Eisenhower adamantly refused to honor McCarthy's accusations with a direct public counter assault, he needed a channel of communication that enabled him to issue indirect responses. Eisenhower believed the press was stigmatized by the drama of the McCarthy affair and had created an environment that contaminated White House efforts to diffuse it. Eisenhower put his news conferences on the record essentially as means of getting his exact words across to the American public and circumventing interpretation by reporters.

Archive materials in the Eisenhower Library that illuminate Eisenhower's reactions to both McCarthy and the press were only recently made public. Using them, Fred Greenstein in the 1982 *The Hidden-Hand Presidency* showed that Eisenhower attached tactical significance to these first "on the record" news conferences; in Greenstein's view, Eisenhower wanted his exact words in print not so much for public consumption but to send signals to Republicans on Capitol Hill who were wavering on McCarthy and needed guidance in lieu of the public condemnation Eisenhower refused to deliver.1 Two other Eisenhower "revisionists," Stephen Ambrose and William Ewald, likewise reconstructed the events with the "newer" Eisenhower materials and concurred that these public signals were integral in leading GOP senators to draw ranks around McCarthy and eventually censure him in December 1954.2

Evidence that the White House, partially though new news conference procedures, did respond to McCarthy scarcely diminished controversy over Eisenhower's role in the affair. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., conceding Greenstein's arguments, nonetheless maintained that hidden-hand tactics were not enough in the midst of a grave national crisis.3 Even so, Eisenhower's press relations during the McCarthy period add an important new building block to this historical analysis. There is vast study of McCarthy himself and evidence he "used" the press; recent works have renewed debates about McCarthy and Eisenhower. Little to date is known of the three-cornered Eisenhower-McCarthy-press relationship and the way it viewed from inside the White House. Eisenhower, often portrayed as a benign grandfather figure and not the type to fixate on the characterization of events in the news media, possessed strong and sometimes vehement anti-press sentiment. Eisenhower was also willing to act in order to elevate his words above those who covered him. His decision to alter time-honored traditions in the news conferences cleared the way for their broadcast on radio and television, further steps that made these affairs public events and diminished the effects of journalistic interpretation.

White House Eye on the McCarthy Era Press

Eisenhower's strategy in the McCarthy affair was directed as much against the press as it was against the senator. Eisenhower's subdued and sometimes bitter critique of the news media was another product of his more-recent historical examination. Because Eisenhower seldom complained about the press in public, some historians now find his ill feelings, expressed privately in diaries and personal correspondence, an important theme in his political career.

Eisenhower had had relations with reporters and editors as early as the 1920s and 1930s when as a military officer he was an assistant to the Army Chief of Staff in Washington. His closest associate during this period was his brother Milton, the head of public information at the Department of Agriculture. Both Eisenhowers were well known among the influx of reporters that converged on the capital during the New Deal.4 As the Allied commander in World War II, Eisenhower had been a darling of the press for his openness and informality. Ambrose maintained that Eisenhower's adeptness at befriending and cultivating key reporters, whose stories were read on the home front, did much to affirm public support for Franklin Roosevelt's war policies.5 Robert Griffith felt that because he remained confident of the news media's support, Eisenhower conceived the press as a flank in his attempt as president to submerge the divisiveness of the Roosevelt and Harry Truman years and run the country by a national consensus.6

Eisenhower's failure to elicit a national spirit of cooperation and his governance instead by initiative and compromise, and his disguising of this in an "above politics" public image, comprises the central thesis in the recent revisionist literature. The press was one of the first links in Eisenhower's consensus-building chain to break loose. This size of the press corps, around 200 members, was not conducive to the informal relations he had enjoyed with reporters in the military. In his military career, moreover, Eisenhower had been executing the policies of Roosevelt and Truman; reporters, explained Ambrose, "did not ask him about, much less criticize, his plans and intentions."7 Reporters in 1953 questioned him often and were apparently predisposed in doing so. Eisenhower had never previously held public office. Appreciating him as a military leader but viewing him an unlikely force in the White House, two-thirds of those covering Eisenhower in the 1952 campaign "voted" for opponent Adlai Stevenson in a press corps straw poll. In 1966, Eisenhower was still bitter about this poll and the pro-Democratic leanings in the press he had felt it announced.8

Eisenhower had no honeymoon with the press and McCarthy's decision after the election to continue a high public profile was yet another corrosive to Eisenhower's consensus vision. Before he had even taken office, Eisenhower's relationship with McCarthy was a magnet of press curiosity and analysis. While McCarthy was remembered as a discredited demagogue, both Eisenhower and the press took him very seriously in 1953. From the beginning of the affair to its end, Eisenhower's fundamental problem with McCarthy was the senator's status as one of the most visible figures in the conservative wing of the Republican party. In contrast, Eisenhower spoke for the GOP's moderate wing personified more recently by Nelson Rockefeller and George Bush; Eisenhower's public popularity won him the 1952 nomination and election but not the immediate favor of the conservatives, who had enormous influence on Capitol Hill. Thus Eisenhower made numerous concessions to the conservatives during the 1952 campaign, including the selection of Richard Nixon as his running mate. Another concession was Eisenhower's decision to appear alongside McCarthy during a 1952 campaign tour in the senator's home state.

Eisenhower's assumption that these concessions would pacify McCarthy, a great miscalculation, had some justification. Senate Majority Leader Robert Taft, the party's leading conservative and the person Eisenhower defeated for the 1952 nomination, became an ally of White House. Taft had advised Eisenhower that "he [McCarthy] can't do any harm."9 Nevertheless, McCarthy moved immediately to harness the conservatives in an unsuccessful attempt to block Eisenhower's nomination of Charles Bohlen, a figure who had worked in the McCarthy-maligned State Department of Truman, as ambassador to the Soviet Union. McCarthy further frustrated the president by jockeying an amendment authored by Ohio Senator John Bricker that would have severely restricted Eisenhower's authority in framing treaties, such as FDR's Yalta Agreement that the conservatives regarded with immense contempt.

Eisenhower's battles with McCarthy and the conservatives were front-page news throughout the president's first six months in office. They made interesting reading, too, because these battles were waged inside a Republican party that now held the White House for the first time in twenty years. In a series of columns in the *New York Times* in April 1953, Arthur Krock reported that "the President's leadership thus far has not been firm" and that Eisenhower was off to a "slow start."10 Eisenhower's overtures to Taft gave reporters additional reasons to wonder about the president's firmness. "He is ill at ease," wrote the *Times'* James Reston in his syndicated column that May. "[T]he President's way has always been to try to meet everybody's point of view as much as he can. He is not yet prepared to break out of this familiar cycle."11 In another column, Reston felt Eisenhower's courting of McCarthy and Taft was like "trying to lead a covey of mechanics through the wilderness." He "has been concentrating on unifying the party rather than leading the country."12

McCarthy's headline value was hardly confined to his lever on Eisenhower's legislative aspirations. The press was far more intrigued about the ongoing status of the senator's hunt for subversives and communists in government. In the nearly three years that had elapsed since McCarthy first accused the State Department of harboring communists in his June 1950 Wheeling, West Virginia speech, his activities had largely been explained as a Republican political foray against the Democratic administration of Truman. In 1952, in no small measure because of the concerns McCarthy had raised, the Republicans won not only the presidency but also both houses of Congress. After a lull during the campaign, the press reconverged on the internal security story when the senator, with political winds now at his back, persisted. In January 1953, McCarthy took advantage of the 1952 GOP sweep and assumed the chair of the Senate Committee on Governmental Operations. Then in March, a McCarthy-chaired subcommittee began the first actual investigations of subversion in the

State Department and other agencies. The press followed these probes on a daily basis, helped by numerous news conferences held by McCarthy that often revealed what had occurred in closed-door sessions. McCarthy's examination of the Voice of America had led to scores of firings by early 1953, even though the proceedings had barely begun. Columnists Bruce Catton, Richard Rovere, and Walter Lippmann expressed alarm and were among the first to accuse Eisenhower of ambivalence.13 Yet more readily seen in newspapers was neither the commentary nor editorial analysis but the "objective" accounts of McCarthy's activities, and their blaring headlines, on Page One.

The tendency of the press to repeat and amplify McCarthy's allegations later attracted many historians and raised some of the most prominent questions of the McCarthy period. Margaret Blanchard wrote in 1977 that the performance of the press affirmed criticism leveled at the news media in the much-disputed report of the Hutchins Commission just a few years before; this report maintained "straight" reporting often did not serve the public good because it subordinated perspective and context.14 Griffith emphasized in 1987 that perspective had been badly needed. "McCarthy never screamed, but the headlines did," he observed. "Most reporters had neither the time nor the research facilities to evaluate properly the senator's many charges, and the wire service tradition of printing the most arresting facts at the head of a story distorted even the most intelligent presentations."15

There were many journalists who did attempt to supply perspective. Besides Catton, Rovere, and Lippmann, Edward R. Murrow's March 1954 "See It Now" broadcast on CBS dissected before a large audience McCarthy's subterfuge and intimidation. Columnist Drew Pearson also had been critical of McCarthy, while Reston of the *Times* was the most notable member of the White House press corps to question the senator's tactics. Nevertheless, as Earl Latham maintained in 1973, "Even the sober *New York Times* had printed, on the basis of the senator's daily briefings on the closed hearings, such headlines as 'Rosenberg Called Radar Spy,' . . . 'Witness Breaks Down,' . . . and 'Monmouth Figure Linked to Hiss Ring.'" The press, concluded Latham, "played the story pretty much as McCarthy planned it."16 One of the most extensive press surveys of this period was Edwin Bayley's 1981 *Joe McCarthy and the Press*, in which a focal point were the wires services that chronicled McCarthy for the hundreds of newspapers, and their millions of readers, that did not have their own reporters in Washington. "There is no question but that McCarthy used the wire services, deliberately and knowingly, taking advantage of the fierce competition among them and their fear of losing clients."17

Little known decades later when the McCarthy era press marshalled stern historical review was that Eisenhower had forged the same analysis at the time the actual events were unfolding. Criticisms of McCarthy began to appear regularly in Eisenhower's personal papers beginning in early 1953. Almost every complaint contained a reference to the senator's need to made headlines and the willingness of the press to give him, without fail, this opportunity. McCarthy's actions "irritate, frustrate, and infuriate," Eisenhower confided in April. "I really believe that nothing will be so effective in combating his particular style of troublemaking as to ignore him."18 In July, after McCarthy expanded his investigations into the Government Printing Office and the U.S. Army Signal Corps, a boyhood friend named Swede Hazlett urged the White House to "crack down" on the McCarthy. Eisenhower refused, claiming the affair was nothing more than a "newspaper trial." "When you have a situation like this," Eisenhower wrote back, "you have an ideal one for the newspapers, the television and the radio, to exploit, to exaggerate and to perpetuate."19

"Exaggerate" was the operative term in Eisenhower's critique of the McCarthy media phenomenon. Moreover, the president's informed conclusion that McCarthy was largely a product of the press, who held sway over reporters, editors, and headline writers in a follow-the-leader melodrama, contributed greatly to his refusal to publicize his disdain for the senator. Eisenhower was certain the press was edging him into a personality contest for its headline potential, a no-win proposition as Eisenhower saw it because his public rebuke of McCarthy would stir the controversy to a further level of exaggeration. "Only a shortsighted or completely inexperienced individual would urge the use of the office of the Presidency to give an opponent the publicity he so avidly desires," Eisenhower told his brother Milton that October. "Frankly, in a day when we see journalism far more concerned in so-called human interest, dramatic incidents, and bitter quarrels . . . I have no intention whatsoever of helping promote the publicity value of anyone who disagrees with me--demagogue or not!" Doing so, said Eisenhower, "smacks [more] of the fool than of the leader."20

Besides being foolish, a presidential attack on McCarthy would have been extremely poor politics at the time. Because he felt McCarthy's activities were exaggerated by the press, Eisenhower continued to see the senator not so much as a public menace but as a loose cannon in the Republican party who in time could be controlled. Eisenhower believed this because McCarthy, at least through the greater part of 1953, had concentrated his search for subversives on holdovers from the Truman administration. Finally in November, in one of the most turbulent phases of the period known as the "Harry Dexter White affair," Eisenhower saw McCarthy's guns training on him. When it was over, Eisenhower had found a way of using the press to his advantage, although it continued to seem in public that "mum" was still the word.

A "Ghastly Mess" and News Conference Cleansing

By late 1953, as McCarthy showed no signs of cooperating, self destructing, or vanishing from the public eye, a spectrum of opinion divided Eisenhower's advisors on the question of what the White House should do. A conservative faction led by Vice President Nixon believed McCarthy would be controlled and harmony would prevail only if there was greater conciliation with hostile GOP elements in Congress.21 At the opposite extreme was a faction led by C. D. Jackson, a speechwriter and advisor on international communication, who insisted that in the end Eisenhower would be better off politically if the administration publicly broke with McCarthy and cut its loses as best it could.22

In between the neutral course taken by Eisenhower and the radical measures proposed by Jackson was the voice of Press Secretary Jim Hagerty. Hagerty agreed with Eisenhower that a presidential initiative against McCarthy would agitate the media and wind up counter productive. Yet Hagerty felt there was more at stake than political practicalities and that more could be done. While the dominant question in the White House was whether McCarthy would or would not fall into line as a cooperative Republican, Hagerty felt an additional problem was materializing: the stain on the public consciousness McCarthy had already left. In late 1953, the Gallup surveys that Hagerty assembled for Eisenhower showed that fifty percent of the American public approved of McCarthy's character and activities.23 "Sheer fanaticism," Hagerty commented.24 Simultaneously, Eisenhower's public approval ratings had dropped, from seventy-five percent in August to fifty-eight percent later that fall.25 Hagerty was of the opinion that steps could be taken by Eisenhower to disperse some of McCarthy's following while not diverting the president from his policy of ignoring him.

Eisenhower's weekly presidential news conferences were the focus of Hagerty's interest and concern. Because the news conferences were the only occasions in which the president met in person with all 200 members of the press corps, Hagerty considered them crucial in facilitating the flow of White House communication. Yet he believed more strongly that the news conferences, as then managed, were outmoded. Except for Franklin Roosevelt's decision to dispense with reporters' written queries by soliciting questions spontaneously, the news conference had changed little since Woodrow Wilson instituted it in 1913. There had been talk from time to time of broadcasting the news conferences; any president beginning with Warren Harding could have done this. As late as 1953, though, this idea was incompatible with a time-honored protocol dictated by the press corps. Reporters wanted the news conferences to remain private gatherings that gave them opportunities to interact with presidents informally. Wilson's procedure of having reporters gather around him in the Oval Office continued until the presidency of Truman, who had to use an auditorium to accommodate the expanding size of the press corps. The concept of the conferences had always been "background"; to maintain an air of fraternity and informality, no cameras, microphones, or recording devices were allowed and direct quotations were possible only when a reporter made a specific request. Virtually all printed accounts of the news conferences up to this time had featured paraphrased renditions of what a president had said. By placing these restrictions on all members of the press corps, each individual figure was able to interpret the event in his or her own way.26

The result of this protocol through 1953 was a succession of newspaper stories that were in Hagerty's mind factually inaccurate. Worse yet, these stories tended to echo, despite Eisenhower's statements to contrary, the popular theme that the White House was supporting McCarthy. As Hagerty recalled, reporters took "things out of context. Too many of them let their prejudices show."27 A notable example had occurred in April 1953 after Mutual Security Director Harold Stassen spouted that McCarthy had "undermined" U.S. foreign policy by claiming to have forced Greek shippers to suspend trade with Communist China and North Korea. When questioned about this at his next news conferences, Eisenhower explained he concurred with Stassen although "infringed," not "undermined," should have been the correct choice of words. Despite Eisenhower's siding with Stassen against McCarthy, the *New York Times* reported the gist of Eisenhower's comments as a pro-McCarthy backtrack aimed at Republican unity.28 Through 1953, most of Eisenhower's remarks at the news conferences were not about McCarthy but on matters he most wanted to discuss, including tax reform, international trade, and defense spending. Time and again, three or four-sentence answers to McCarthy-related questions that consisted of "no comment" were interpreted as GOP conciliation measures. "Three-fourths of the reporters were Democratically inclined," Hagerty explained. "That causes a lot of this trouble and a lot of this inaccurate reporting."29

It was for these reasons that Hagerty wanted changes in existing procedures at the news conferences. His goal was to put the White House in greater control of the news conference and make it a public event, not a private performance that went into print somewhat like a critic's theatre review. As far back as January 1953, Hagerty had argued that the news conferences were "background" sessions only in theory. Central to Hagerty's sentiment was his belief that the White House could use the news conferences as a public channel only if these affairs were officially on the journalistic record.30 Moreover, looking two steps ahead, he fathomed that if the news conference was merely open to quotation and the reporters created the "record," nothing would be resolved; reporters would still have much latitude for interpretation and inaccuracy. Thus he proposed what became known in the White House as the "transcript" procedure. Under this plan, the administration would record and transcribe Eisenhower's comments at the news conferences. Next, Hagerty would review and edit the transcripts before, finally, circulating them to the press. Reporters could quote Eisenhower with no prior permission, but only to the extent indicated by the transcripts.31

To many of Hagerty's colleagues in White House, however, this plan of using news conference remarks as on-the-record public statements translated at first into substantial inconvenience with little obvious gain. Extra staff would be needed for the transcription process.32 In addition, it was envisioned that existing staff would be impelled to spend more time preparing for the news conferences in order to fine tune the remarks that would ultimately emanate from Eisenhower's mouth. This need proved genuine and was answered by the institution of pre-news conferences briefing sessions. Through the rest of his presidency, Eisenhower relented to these "rehearsals" but complained about the hour or two of his time that they required.33 The briefings consumed not only Eisenhower's time but also that of many senior officials and cabinet members including Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Defense Secretary Charles Wilson, and Chief of Staff Sherman Adams, who often attended.34

In addition to these practical drawbacks, both Eisenhower and Hagerty perceived a public relations problem in foisting upon the press corps a policy that interfered with the tradition of the news conferences. There was evidence, in fact, that Eisenhower would have preferred to have kept the news conferences as the informal gatherings they had always theoretically been. Although many press practices angered him, he enjoyed the company of some reporters and never gave up the hope that he could cultivate them as he had in World War II. Because, beginning with the transcript procedure, there evolved so much regimentation in his press relations, Eisenhower later held informal dinners with groups of reporters at the White House.35 Yet the broader issue in 1953 was not the formalization of the news conferences but the White House move to exert hegemony over these events; Hagerty felt it likely the press would oppose this. Nevertheless, Hagerty was willing to take this risk, if for no other reason than to demonstrate to reporters White House forbearance in managing its affairs, a point he often related to Eisenhower. "When I told him that after all it was his press conference and he could lay the ground rules," Hagerty later explained his diary, "he seemed a little surprised and pleased."36

Then in early November, the Justice Department confirmed the resurrection of an investigation into the affairs of White, an assistant secretary of the treasury early in the Truman administration, now deceased, who had been accused of subversive activities. Over the next six weeks, events escalated into a soap opera of charges and counter charges that put Eisenhower's neutral stance in the McCarthy affair to its severest test. They began with Truman, who reacted with a vengeance and used numerous public statements and a national TV broadcast to argue White's innocence and savage Eisenhower for his alleged embrace of McCarthyism. Attorney General Herbert Brownell denied Truman's allegations and insisted the administration neither had sought nor wanted McCarthy's help in the White inquiry. This triggered McCarthy's first sweeping attack on the Eisenhower administration. Eisenhower was at the center of the fracas and his news conferences were eagerly awaited week by week.

A prelude to White affair was a news conference Eisenhower held on November 4 in which he shrugged several questions about McCarthy's claim of "espionage" in Army Signal Corps.37 The next day, Eisenhower was confounded at the number of times "McCarthy" and "McCarthyism" appeared in press accounts of the news conference, even though he had not used those words. By the end of that day, the president had sent to each member of the White House staff a lengthy memorandum that demanded a "more widespread and aggressive campaign to publicize [the] gains and activities" of the executive branch. "While key and top echelon figures in the fields of journalism, publication, and public relations are pro-administration," the "lower echelons have not been so successfully wooed." Eisenhower's case in point was the "overworked red herring of McCarthyism," which threatened "inestimable damage" to the administration.38

The White story broke on November 6 and Eisenhower's next news conference on November 11 was one of the most memorable of his career. It may have been symbolic as well as an indicator of the emerging "adversarial" relationship in presidential press relations in the post-World War II period. It was the first occasion in the Eisenhower administration and one of the few up to this time in which reporters breached an unofficial line of courtesy and, as a group, confronted a president with questions he refused to answer. The reporters were again insistent for Eisenhower's response to the personal attacks of Truman that the White investigation was a White House front for McCarthyism. After an almost deafening barrage of questions, Eisenhower cut off the conference after just twenty minutes and walked out. Reston of the *New York Times* called it "the stormiest White House news conference of recent years"; Robert Donovan of the *New York Herald Tribune* reported that "at times the President appeared to be restraining his temper with conscious effort."39 There was a third less raucous but equally tense conference on November 18.

McCarthy was more perceptive than the press in ferreting Eisenhower's position in the White affair. While the press saw Eisenhower siding with McCarthy, McCarthy correctly viewed the administration's refusal to join forces with him as a slur on his credibility. Thus on November 24 McCarthy went on national television and expanded his condemnation of the administration, claiming Eisenhower was protecting subversives and stating that this issue would determine sides in the upcoming 1954 Congressional elections.40 Reston and Edward Folliard of the *Washington Post* quoted unnamed sources in the administration that McCarthy's TV speech equated to "a declaration of war against the President."41

To Eisenhower it did. His next news conference was scheduled for December 2. Conceiving this event as a defining moment in keeping the presidency from slipping into the McCarthy quagmire, he held two meetings with his staff, on November 30 and December 1, to discuss a course of action. Without dissent, the advisors decided it was imperative

Eisenhower's exact words be released in order to regain control and break a pattern of adverse reportorial interpretation. Yet they did not decide at this point to put the entire news conference on the record; this was because there remained great disagreement as to what Eisenhower's exact words would be. The result was a hybrid alteration of news conference protocol. Eisenhower appeared, read, and circulated a prepared statement; the rest of the news conferences proceeded in normal fashion as "background."

The statement, while careful not to offend McCarthy and risk the loss of GOP support on Capitol Hill, nonetheless stated in so many words that McCarthy was wrong and that by election time communism would not be a "serious menace." This tactic did not fully ameliorate all of Eisenhower's advisors. C. D. Jackson went along with this change in news conference procedure solely in the hope that Eisenhower would use it to blast McCarthy. Instead, after drafting a statement to that effect, Eisenhower "slammed it back" at Jackson "and said he would not refer to McCarthy personally--'I will not get in the gutter with that guy.'"42 Still, it appeared to be a masterstroke in reclaiming some of Eisenhower's flexibility in the McCarthy matter. Eisenhower's statement was run verbatim in wire service accounts and in newspapers. In his diary four days before, Jackson, referring to the White House, had written, "The place is really falling apart."43 After the news conference, Jackson averred, "So what started as a ghastly mess turned out fine. Problem now is, having zippered the toga of Republican leadership on the President's shoulders, how to keep that zipper shut."44

Part of what proved the solution blossomed at Eisenhower's next meeting with the press on December 16, when a full news conference finally went on the record. Again, a statement was read. With the White furor dissipating and with only indirect references to McCarthy, this statement contained Eisenhower's hopes for a successful three-day "summit" conference with GOP legislative leaders scheduled to begin the following morning. Eisenhower deemed it extremely important to get this message across. He had prepared for weeks for this GOP meeting and wanted now to signal conciliation because he was still unsure he had removed the latest cancer: McCarthy's malignant claim on November 24 that domestic communism would be used to divide the party in the elections. To the benefit of Eisenhower's peace of mind, there were many followup questions that gave him a chance to reiterate and to elaborate on some other initiatives, including his "atoms for peace" proposal unveiled on television the week before at the United Nations.

In secret, Eisenhower had given Hagerty the green light to make a tape recording of this news conference. When it broke up, Eisenhower reviewed what he had said and then made a decision that caught many reporters by complete surprise. That afternoon, Hagerty walked into the press room with a stack of handouts that contained an edited transcript of the morning's press encounter with Eisenhower. Hagerty then told the press corps that the president had "agreed" to lift the news conference no-quotation rule and put the entire affair "on the journalistic record." This announcement was followed by another: the tape recording had been released to the radio networks. The reporters were as interested in these developments as in the news conference itself. They asked if the same procedure would be used at the next meeting. Hagerty said "yes," that the policy had now been fixed. Further guidance, if needed, would come from the press office.45

With this, Eisenhower had taken a sizable stride toward achieving a routine means of placing his exact words before the public and having them stand alone against potential journalistic distortion and interpretation. And, as it turned out, there was no outcry. At first, the reporters were delighted, even though they still had to work from the official transcripts and knew these transcripts had been edited by Hagerty. A *New York Times* editorial proclaimed that the news conference "has under President Eisenhower become a completely public, on-the-record institution," similar to the British question-and-answer period in Parliament. In the same newspaper, Arthur Krock maintained a "wooden curtain" no longer separated the presidency from the press and public.46 In this atmosphere, there was almost no objection to a feature of the new protocol that Hagerty had assumed would draw some complaint: the broadcasting of the news conferences on radio. By giving no advanced indication that changes were in the offing, Hagerty not only reduced second-guessing within the press corps but affirmed White House control of the conferences, even persuading reporters into believing they were participants in an historic event. Eisenhower added his own touch by referring to his easing of quotation restrictions as a "Christmas present" to the press corps.47

As several recent Eisenhower historians have shown, the president put his "on the record" news conferences to effective use as the McCarthy affair reached its climax in 1954. For the first time, the news conference began to assume a public following. Not only could readers better identify Eisenhower in stories and headlines written from the news conferences; several newspapers including the *New York Times* published the complete transcripts. This allowed the public access to information of which only reporters had previously been privy. In addition, parts of most of the 1954 news conferences were broadcast on radio. Greenstein and others who recently researched Eisenhower's maneuvers against McCarthy felt this public outlet helped weave McCarthy's demise. The news conferences gave the president a regular and somewhat inconspicuous means of chipping away at McCarthy without drawing extra attention, a likely outcome had he used press releases, proclamations, or television addresses. Further, the news conference channel was tailored toward reaching the people in whose hands Eisenhower felt rested the fate of the entire ordeal: McCarthy's colleagues in the Senate. Succeeding events showed that the "on the record" news conferences indeed were part of the rope McCarthy used to hang himself.

Although McCarthy was not censured by the Senate until December 1954, the practical finale came that June in the Army-McCarthy hearings. Several Eisenhower news conferences coincided with turning points in the celebrated events that gripped that nation that spring. In early 1954, McCarthy had made random allegations of subversion in the military, most directed against Army Secretary Robert Stevens. Remembered otherwise, it was not McCarthy who ordered these hearings. To the contrary, the Army instigated them because it had evidence McCarthy had improperly used his influence to gain special privileges for one of his aides who had entered the service. Eisenhower, also wanting these hearings, had no assurance the Senate would act on this relatively minor matter. Thus at a news conferences on March 3 and March 10, Eisenhower elaborated on the Army, even conceding one of McCarthy's charges, in urging fair and courteous treatment for witnesses as if the hearings were a fait accompli.48 On March 11, the Senate voted to proceed with the Army-

McCarthy hearings. This, an enthusiastic Hagerty wrote in his diary, "should bust this thing wide open."49

More significant than the decision to hold the hearings were the rules adopted by the Senate in conducting them. In the beginning, McCarthy's colleagues on the Subcommittee on Investigations were deeply divided over opening the hearings to the public. When Eisenhower, at his March 3 news conference, had given a short dissertation on the "public's right to know," a groundswell of concurring sentiment resounded on Capitol Hill. "In opposing communism," Eisenhower had told the reporters, "we are defeating ourselves if either by design or through carelessness we use methods that do not conform to the American sense of justice and fair play." The hearings were not only made public but broadcast on live television.50 Finally, the committee had to decide McCarthy's role in the hearings. Eisenhower sent advisors to Capitol Hill to privately arm-twist Republicans into temporarily removing McCarthy from the committee. Then on March 24, the president stated at a news conference that "if a man is party to a dispute, directly or indirectly, he does not sit in judgment on his own cause."51 "Hill reaction good on press conference," Hagerty wrote.52 By the time the hearings convened on April 22, McCarthy himself had agreed to temporarily relinquish his seat on the committee.53

Relegated to the role of cross-examiner, McCarthy's persistent "points of order" jarred the millions of viewers able to watch on television. As the hearings continued through April and May, McCarthy's public approval rating dropped to around thirty percent.54 Reeling under public scrutiny, McCarthy lunged into a fateful "point of order" on June 9 by revealing that one of the Army lawyers had been a member of a legal support team for the Communist

Party, a fact Eisenhower had known more than two months before.55 Chief Army counsel Joseph Welch seized the opening and blasted McCarthy for his "reckless cruelty" and lack of "decency." Eisenhower was so pleased that he brought Welch to the White House for a private congratulation.56 Two days after the Welch exchange, Ralph Flanders introduced in the Senate the motion that led to McCarthy's censure.

Although these revisions in news conference procedures may have had some impact in resolving the McCarthy affair, they were arguably more significant as a turning point in the evolution of press-presidential relations. The releasing of the transcripts and radio recordings marked the first step in what would prove a complete overhaul of the news conference under Eisenhower. In January 1955, using the same element of surprise that preceded the transcript procedure, Eisenhower put the news conference on television for the first time.

While Eisenhower's television news conferences have seemed more of a media turning point than the open quotation policy, Hagerty recalled that the TV conferences were in some ways anti-climatic because, by then, the procedural groundwork was already in place.57 Murray Snyder, the assistant press secretary, felt the lifting of the "no quote rule" and the fact that there was "no opposition" made it inevitable that the news conference divert from a journalistic enclave into a presidential media event.58 There was even talk in 1954 of releasing these once-private press encounters on long-playing records.59 Television was a logical progression of the decisions made in December 1953 and might have been used at that time had the technology been available. Moreover, very significant to the eventual institution of the TV news conference had been the willingness of the reporters in December 1953 to accept the transcript procedure. Although live TV news conferences would appear later under

John Kennedy, the Eisenhower news conferences were filmed and edited word for word to the written transcripts. When TV appeared in 1955, the 1953 events were revisited in a press revolt over alleged "censorship"; acknowledging that millions of home viewers could now witness the news conferences, both wire service and newspaper reporters wanted the cameras removed.60 They did not prevail because an "on the record" policy had ruled the news conferences without complaint for more than a year.61

Many reporters agreed with Hagerty that the news conference was not the same after December 1953. "They took the gamble of . . . ending the old rule about quoting verbatim," recalled Robert Donovan, who covered the administrations from Roosevelt through Kennedy for the *Herald Tribune*. As a result, "the old news conference ended with Eisenhower."62 Roscoe Drummond, another *Herald Tribune* reporter, felt the news conferences of Eisenhower were more detached than those of his two predecessors and was displeased that "he was coached by Jim Hagerty."63 Edward Folliard of the *Washington Post* sensed in 1953 that Eisenhower had ulterior motives in the news conferences. Previously, according to Folliard, there had been a measure of sanctity when reporters met a president. "But Ike didn't see it that way," Folliard remarked. "He just thought of it as another means of making an announcement."64 Ray Scherer, a television reporter who worked for NBC, concurred that "the Eisenhower administration made a considerable contribution to the institutionalization of the presidential news conference" not when the cameras arrived but when "for the first time it allowed direct quotes." After that, said Scherer, "Eisenhower's relations with reporters were rather formal."65 Elie Abel of the *New York Times* speculated that in Eisenhower's press relations there was a degree of "disdain and distrust."66

Abel was correct. One month after Eisenhower lifted the "no quotation" rule and characterized the action as a Christmas gift to the press, he used his diary to reflect on the journalistic community. "The members of this group are far from being as important as they themselves consider," he wrote. "[T]hey deal in negative criticism rather than in any attempt toward constructive helpfulness. They love to deal in personalities; in their minds, personalities make stories." Citing an "extraordinary amount of distortion and gross error," Eisenhower emphasized that for twelve years he had been at "spots in the world that have been considered newsworthy" and had witnessed first hand "the actual incidents reported." "Rarely," he stressed, "is such writing accurate." Eisenhower felt the professional calling of a typical journalist was "a certain thrill out of seeing his name in black type."67

Later, on the eve of the Army-McCarthy hearings when Reston accused Eisenhower of "turning his cheek" on the senator, there was another outburst in the administration. Only now, with entrenchment of this new arrangement in White House press relations, there was much less distress. "To hell with slanted reporters," Hagerty wrote in his diary. "That's why I'm glad we released [the] statement to radio, TV, and the newsreels. . . . We'll go directly to the people who can hear exactly what [the] President said without reading warped and slanted stories."68 Or, as Eisenhower explained to General Lucius Clay, a close friend, "I put it in talk, principle, and idea. They . . . put it in headlines."69

What Clay was told may constitute a valuable ray of historical light toward enhanced understanding of the McCarthy affair. It revealed that Eisenhower's conception of the press did not differ too much from McCarthy's. Both figures maintained a condescending attitude toward the press and both fathomed that it was not the reporters but their channels of communication that were truly important. Both were able to march into those channels with relative ease. Eisenhower's news conference maneuvers were a window in what was a silent tug-of-war between the president and the renegade senator that was acted out in part on the court of a very malleable press. Particularly because several historians now point to Eisenhower, and his hidden-hand initiatives, as the fulcrum in McCarthy's downfall, this press tug-of-war has meaningful dimensions and is worthy of further scholarly pursuit.

Such pursuit may resolve many new questions about the McCarthy era press. When evidence came in the 1980s that Eisenhower used hidden-hand tactics to confront McCarthy, there remained a question of expedience; as Schlesinger asked, did this "rowing with muffled oars" prolong the crisis?70 With more evidence that Eisenhower was as repulsed as much by the press as he was by McCarthy, a similar question materializes: had Eisenhower spoken out against not just McCarthy but also the press, which some believe contributed to the turmoil, would the affair have concluded sooner? Was Eisenhower's manipulation of news conference procedures the seed for further tensions in White House media relations and further national turmoil, such as that witnessed in the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations? Were these tensions partially the result of Eisenhower's determination not to level with but one-up the press during the McCarthy affair?

While to many historians the proof of Eisenhower perseverance in the McCarthy affair lies in his words, such as those that came to light when his personal papers were made public, the answers to these newer media-related questions are rooted in his deeds. Applying the bromide notion of "don't get mad, get even," Eisenhower saw his problems with the McCarthy era press in practical terms. Eisenhower, not McCarthy, was the "user" of the press who prevailed. McCarthy self destructed but Eisenhower's media initiatives, notably his news conferences, took on a life of their own and may add insight to a press-presidential relationship in which the word "distance" grew as a descriptive term.

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REACHING FOR PROFESSIONALISM AND RESPECTABILITY: STATE PRESS ASSOCIATION ETHICS CODES IN THE 1920S

by

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REACHING FOR PROFESSIONALISM AND RESPECTABILITY: STATE PRESS ASSOCIATION ETHICS CODES IN THE 1920S

Journalism, like many occupations at the turn of the century, sought to professionalize itself as a means of improving standards and answering critics. As such, journalists began press associations, trade publications, schools of journalism and ethics codes.

Although most of the professionalizing elements began before the turn of the century, the development of ethics codes did not take place until the 1920s. The codes primarily were a response to rampant public mistrust of journalists, a trust that was all the more crucial to maintain in the face of the coming of a new medium--radio.

The publics' backlash against the press resulted from a combination of the effects of World War I propaganda, the rise of press agents, the resurgence of sensationalism and the fruition of the press as big business. Ethics codes provided the best opportunity for the press to regain credibility since codes publicly displayed journalism's values. The codes studied for this research consistently emphasized the watchdog ideal, public service, truthfulness and honesty in advertising.

Most of the principles cited in the codes derived from press traditions. Adoption of codes, however, was meant to be more than a response to criticism. Codes also served as a form of peer pressure. Editors who failed to see their newspapers as more than business enterprises found themselves quite publicly at odds with the majority of their colleagues.

REACHING FOR PROFESSIONALISM AND RESPECTABILITY: STATE PRESS ASSOCIATION ETHICS CODES IN THE 1920S

Buoyed by the press' increasing predominance in daily life in the decades surrounding the turn of the century, many journalists began calling their work a profession rather than an occupation or trade.[1] The label was more than just a response to rampant press criticism. It also was a consequence of the trade's transformation into a full-fledged business whose workers were largely white collar, salaried employees. Efforts to improve press performance came under the banner of professionalism--"the middle-class' thesis of reform."[2]

Journalists adopted professionalism regardless of whether or not they could fulfill its actual traditional concerns--specialized skills and training, the freedom to set one's own salary, the formation of professional associations, codes of ethics and licensing.[3]

Beginning in the 1880s journalists did adopt a number of the trappings of professionalism, including college training, the formation of professional associations, professional publications and narrowly-focused job specialization.[4] The trade publications, *The Journalist*, *The Fourth Estate* and especially, *Editor and Publisher*, contributed to the professionalism drive by providing forums for journalists to debate issues and behaviors considered professional at the time, such as accuracy, fairness and editorial independence.[5] Paralleling these journals, professional associations and journalism programs also encouraged professional standards of conduct and behavior--the associations through annual meetings and schools particularly through ethics courses.[6]

Journalists could not totally embrace all aspects of professionalism, however--they did not have the freedom to set their own salaries and attempts to adopt licensing to ensure the quality of practicing journalists fell flat. Although the licensing issue was given some support in the first two decades of this century, most journalists saw licensing as a violation of First Amendment rights.[7] Journalisms' march toward professionalism also was slowed by a lack of consensus among journalists about the nature of their work. While many considered journalism a profession, to some it was a form of literature and to others merely a trade.

The adoption of ethics codes, a key factor in professionalism, was much slower in coming than were the other elements. Not until four decades after the professionalism movement began did newspapers and press associations begin adopting ethics codes. The codes primarily were a response to rampant public mistrust of journalists, a trust that was all the more crucial to maintain in the face of the coming of a new medium--radio.

Several factors brought on this shift in public opinion. Sensationalism in the form of tabloid journalism which focused on crime and sex returned, displacing the investigative reporting that had brought the muckrakers fame and respect.[8] The press also found itself plagued by development of press agents and their often non-credible press releases.[9] Furthermore, newspapers that once were seen as the people's champions for dismantling illegal trusts had themselves become big businesses.

Most damaging to the press' credibility, however, was its often erroneous coverage of World War I. From the time of the war's outbreak in 1914, all sides involved in the conflict sought to influence the American public's opinion with propaganda. Journalists and public relations experts quickly realized propaganda's value for maintaining or destroying national morale. George Creel's postwar book explaining how his Committee on Public Information successfully manipulated the public's opinion through propaganda led to vigorous distrust of the press.[10]

Furthermore, critics from within journalism, such as Upton Sinclair, Silas Bent, Walter Lippmann and Will Irwin only added fuel to the credibility fire. They derided the continued existence of undertrained reporters, newspapers filled with inaccuracies and sensationalistic coverage, while claiming that advertisers continued to hold sway in newsrooms.[11] Even the *New York Times* was muckraked by Lippmann for its erroneous and seemingly biased reporting of the Bolshevik revolution.[12]

The end result was that many members of the press wondered if journalists had achieved any real ground toward professionalism by the 1920s. The quest for a clear purpose and an ability to feel pride in one's work was slipping away. Regaining the credibility of past years became an essential task for press members who saw their newspapers' circulations and appeal disappearing.[13]

Ethics codes were seen as the best means to regain credibility since they so visibly made the press' values and standards known to the public. This fact was not lost on journalists. For example, after the Oregon State Press Association adopted an ethics code in 1922, it passed a subsidiary motion that the code "should be given fullest publicity in order that the public may check us up if we fail to observe it."[14]

Ethics codes also had the added benefit of being a tool that journalists could use to pressure other press members into adopting standards and behaviors considered professional by the majority.

Some newspapers did adopted codes of ethics during the 1920s,[15] however, state press associations led the charge toward developing codes. Kansas adopted the first code in 1910,[16] although this was an early anomaly. Other state press associations followed suit in the 1920s, including Missouri and Texas in 1921, South Dakota and Oregon in 1922, Massachusetts and Washington State in 1923, Iowa and New Jersey in 1924, Wisconsin and Illinois in 1925, Oklahoma in 1928 and Colorado in 1929. These codes, particularly the state press association codes, have rarely been examined by scholars.[17] Yet they are important not only in terms of the professionalism movement, but also because these codes signaled attempts by the press of the 1920s to address both their critics and their own concerns.

Adopting Codes

Although the Kansas Editorial Association adopted its ethics code in 1910, other professions, such as law, medicine, engineering, social work, education and religion, among others, had adopted such requirements as college training, licensing and ethics codes years before journalism. Some associations could even boast of ethics codes dating back to the 1850s.[18]

Journalists' uncertainties about the press' professional status in part explain the media's slow adoption of ethics codes. Several more factors must be taken into account, however. First, as mentioned previously, until the public's widescale distrust of the press occurred, many journalists saw little need for ethics codes. Schools of journalism, professional associations and trade magazines seemed to provide enough acceptable agents of uplift to many within the media.

The adoption of codes in the 1920s also resulted, in part, from a scathing critical challenge by magazine Editor Frederick Allen in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Criticizing the dangers and faults of the re-emerging sensationalism, Allen called on editors and publishers to improve news coverage through adoption of ethics codes.[19] Press associations and professional groups, particularly the American Society of Newspaper Editors, responded to his challenge.[20]

Finally, some of the delay was due to the very nature of press association membership. Small town publishers and editors dominated state press associations at this time,[21] however, the professionalism movement had begun largely in the cities, not in small towns. Much of the previous and then-current press criticism had been aimed largely at metropolitan newspapers rather than at the rural press. Calls for reform and recognition of the need for action took more time with rural publishers.[22]

Once spurred to action, many editors recognized that codes filled a very basic need within journalism. Editors realized their reporters often lacked an understanding of professional values and ethical principles. This realization contradicted the earlier, industry-wide assumption that journalists understood the ethical rules of their jobs from their first day.[23] Observations of actual practice, spurred in large measure by critics' and the public's anger with the press, prove this was not the case, however. Eric Allen, dean of the University of Oregon's School of Journalism noted, for example, that the purpose of the Oregon code was to educate the state's journalists:[24] "Most men would instinctively know what is ethical if they stopped to think; but may don't think, and some don't know, and still others who both think and know do not care; so there becomes useful a sort of professional Sermon on the Mount through which the public opinion of each profession may become uniform and consolidated," said Allen of the code.[25]

Journalism professors like Allen remained at the forefront in encouraging ethics codes. Willard Grosvenor Bleyer of the

University of Wisconsin, for example, hailed the adoption of an ethics code by the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1923 as "a great awakening" to professionalism by journalists.[26]

Professors also often had a hand in writing ethics codes as well. The Wisconsin Code, for example, was written by Bleyer, Oregon's code was written by University of Oregon Professor Colin Dyment and Professor Ralph Crosman of the University of Colorado helped write that state's code.[27] Professors served as the trade's conscience, exhorting journalists to follow the lead of lawyers and doctors by heightening the requirements for admission to practice journalism as well as encouraging the adoption of codes of ethics.[28]

Other early educators and textbook authors, including the University of Missouri's Walter Williams, Leon Nelson Flint of the University of Kansas and James Melvin Lee of New York University also encouraged the development of codes.[29] Flint, for example, was heartened by the development of the codes. The adoption of ethics codes implied that press members realized they had to increase their standards before they could be considered professionals, noted Flint.[30] Furthermore, Flint warned that if journalists did not continue to create and adhere to codes the public would, seeing codes as a means of ensuring press accountability.[31]

Press Association members reacted relatively quickly to public and industry-wide pressure. Some associations, such as the Colorado Press Association, formed committees to draft codes while others requested individuals, like Bleyer, to create the entire code. The codes examined in this research were adopted quickly, and with virtually no debate, by state press association members. Only the American Society of Newspaper Editors appeared to engage in lengthy discourse before adopting their code.[32]

Many editors quickly praised the emerging codes as recognition, finally, that the press had obligations to the public interest.[33] For example, James T. Williams, Jr., Editor of the *Boston Transcript,* citing the relation between freedom and responsibility in a democracy, praised the American Society of Newspaper Editors' ethics code.[34] Although he acknowledged its unenforceability, Williams said the code attested to the press' recognition of its obligation as a teacher and interpreter, the press' understanding of the need for accuracy, truthfulness and sincerity and the press' "passion for fair play and its sense of decency."[35] Stanley Walker, a city editor at the New York *Herald-Tribune* in the 1920s, concurred, noting the ASNE code set forth the ideal of how the job should be done.[36]

The Codes

The various state press association codes differed widely in length, content and tone. While some characteristics were common to most, notably standards and practices considered professional, the purpose of the press and the relationship between the editorial and advertising departments,[37] the differences among them are notable. Some of the codes are long and utilitarian, others short, grandiloquent and vague, with most combining both flowery language and practical direction. For example, the Washington State Press Association's code, approved in 1923, consists of a mere 215 words while the Kansas Editorial Association's code is approximately 10 times that length.

Some of the codes focused more on editorial content, some on advertising. Most of the codes were, of course, aimed at the press itself, focusing on the purpose of the press, the press' responsibility to the public, its responsibility toward advertisers and press standards, such as truthfulness, impartiality and decency. The codes also stated journalists' views on two of the most highly controversial topics of the 1920s, press agents and propaganda.

Although none of the codes are or were enforceable,[38] several, including the Missouri State Press Association Code and the Texas Press Association Code of Ethics, both adopted in 1921, and the Illinois code of 1925, addressed the issue. The Missouri code called the principles therein "a general guide, not a set form of rules,"[39] while the Texas code[40] called its "rules and ethics . . . obligatory on every member of this association."[41]

Illinois' code sought enforcement through peer pressure: "The establishing of a firm professional standing requires the creation of an ethical code so generally accepted that it can be enforced by the power of professional opinion, when the charlatan in journalism will take his place with the shyster and the quack."

The Press In Society

The majority of the codes recognized that journalism had a pre-eminent role as watchdog in a democratic society and therefore, responsibilities and standards which developed from that role. Trade publications had encouraged the realization of this fact for years. *The Journalist* in 1891, for example, noting the watchdog role claimed newspapers must present truthful and factual news since the press was a moral leader of the community.[42] Similarly, *Editor and Publisher* after 1900 stated that the public would not respect a newspaper that was not honest and did not have a high moral aim.[43] Yet *Editor and Publisher* realized that not all press members had accepted the watchdog role. It cautioned that the sooner members of the press acknowledged that they were members of a profession rather than members of a business, the faster journalists came to "carrying out the obligation [they] have taken upon [themselves]."[44]

Press codes demonstrated that by the 1920s the press had largely accepted both the watchdog role and its responsibilities. Given the press' self-appointed position as social leader, the Oregon code pronounced "the ethical responsibility of journalism [was] the greatest of professional responsibilities."[45]
The Missouri code similarly stated: "In America, where the stability of the government rests upon the approval of the people, it is essential that newspapers, the medium through which the people draw their information, be developed to a high point of efficiency, stability, impartiality and integrity. The future

of the republic depends on the maintenance of a high standard among journalists."[46]

The South Dakota code echoed that of Missouri. "The profession of journalism occupies the place of an essential service in its relations to the public. Its implied contract with the reader invites trust and accepts the responsibility of dependence. To merit this mutuality of interests the newspaper owes and must give adherence to high standards and these recognized ideals of motive, heart and conduct."[47] The Iowa and Wisconsin codes concurred. Wisconsin's code, for example, linked democracy's success to informed public opinion. The code noted that newspapers had a responsibility to democracy to publish the significant news and editorial opinions of the day.[48]

But press associations, wounded by years of media criticism,[49] claimed the ideal of responsibility went beyond what the press owed to the public. The public also had a duty to give the press a vote of confidence and some leeway when mistakes occurred, or the tone of coverage offended the morality of some readers, according to the Illinois and South Dakota Press Associations: "An honest newspaper that serves its public adequately deserves in return a support by that public commensurate with the service and adequate to render it and those who make it independent of other means of support," concludes the Illinois code.[50] That same code stated earlier, "The press must be free . . . to emphasize and advocate through news and opinion such principles and policies as it believes to be the best interest of society without incurring blame for so doing."[51]

Similarly, South Dakota editors stated: "As the profession of journalism demands of its members that they be honest, fair and just to all, they in return shall demand fair treatment, justice and respect from those with whom they deal."[52]

The Status of Journalism

The codes' insistence that journalism was a profession was more than just a demonstration of the codes' authors' overt pride in their work. It also was more than a response to the continuous criticism the press faced. The issue of professionalism was also an attempt by those who considered journalism a profession to force acceptance of such a status on journalists who did not. Some of the codes went so far as to rank the professions, including journalism, in hierarchical order with journalism at or near the top. For example, Colorado's code stated editors were on an equal professional par with doctors: "An editor is a social scientist just as a physician is a medical scientist," said the code. "The cure of social ills is the editor's responsibility more than any other man's."[53]

The professionalism issue also was pushed by those journalists hoping to elevate the educational and ethical standards for entrance into reporting and editing. During the A.S.N.E.'s debate over the adoption of its ethics code, Henry Wright of the *New York Globe* noted that newspapers were not attracting reporters with enough ability or knowledge to cover stories. Wright primarily blamed low pay as the reason why talented, well-educated individuals pursued other jobs.[54]

Many state press associations, through their ethics codes, concurred with Wright, stating that the public could not be well informed if the press did not have well-educated staff members. To achieve this end, some of the codes clearly encouraged the continued support and improvement of schools of journalism. The Oregon code, for example, linked the elevation of standards to the increased educational proficiency of journalists: "Inaccuracy in journalism is commonly due more to lack of mental equipment than to wilfulness of attitude. The ill-equipped man cannot be more competent as a journalist than he can as a doctor or engineer. . . . the contribution that each journalist makes to his community and to society is nearly in ratio to his competency. We regard journalism as a precise and a learned profession . . ."[55]

The Illinois code also linked education to professional service. It called journalism "a high calling of great responsibility . . . because of its importance and responsibilities, it requires as expert ability, as broad and thorough knowledge and training as any other learned profession."[56]

Editorial Standards

Truthfulness, long considered a standard of professional journalism,[57] was the most prominent standard cited in all of the ethics codes. Eric Allen, dean of the University of Oregon's School of Journalism, noted the press' difficulty in always being able to uphold this ideal. In undertaking their work journalists faced many dilemmas involving truthful reporting, said Allen, such as what happens if society demands that its news be suppressed during times of war?[58] He had no readily available answers to his question.

James T. Williams, editor of the *Boston Transcript*, straight-forwardly stated the need for truth: "Disloyalty to the truth, deliberate distortion of the truth, deliberate suppression of the truth, is not liberty, but the abuse of liberty . . ."[59]

Given this realization, nearly all of the codes addressed the issue of truth, several as their starting point. The emphasis was more than just the fact that truth is a hallmark of journalism.[60] It also was a response to the public's concerns about inaccuracies spawned by press agents and wartime propaganda. Indeed, the *New Republic* noted in 1919 that the public's instinction for disbelief of what was in newspapers was greater than ever before.[61] As a result, the Oregon State Editorial Association's Code of Ethics firmly noted: "There is no place in journalism for the dissembler; the distorter; the prevaricator; the suppressor; or the dishonest thinker."[62] The New Jersey code told reports that they should "never deliberately pervert or misrepresent facts."[63] The Illinois code, however, recognized that truth can be somewhat illusive: "No newspaper can print all the truth. It must endeavor so to select the news it publishes as to express the many aspects of truth most accurately in fact, in proportion, and in emphasis."[64] Colorado's code stated that news could be suppressed for the public's welfare. Yet the code also noted that suppression of truthful news for any other reason "is an impropriety."[65]

The issue of faking (i.e., printing fake news) was addressed in a number of the codes as well, although faking was not nearly as prevalent an issue as it had been in previous years. The Kansas code condemned faking outright, while the Oregon code noted more broadly that journalists should be concerned with "care, competency and thoroughness."[66]

Closely related to the issue of truth, a number of the codes urged journalists to avoid outside affiliations, particularly in business or politics, which might affect their judgment. Such warnings were not without merit. Although the drive for independent newspapers had begun in the 1870s,[67] partisanship still existed. Furthermore, newspaper editors and publishers remained clearly concerned about the declining ability of newspapers to lead public opinion. The goal for many of these journalists was to regain past community leadership by stressing political independence and truthfulness.

The Wisconsin code was one of many that made the case for editorial independence: "We believe that editorials should present truth as the writer sees it, uncolored by bias, prejudice, or partisanship."[68] The Iowa Press Association concurred, saying its goal was: "to publish in an impartial way, free from all personal opinion and bias the news, to endeavor to be leaders of thought in our editorial utterances, and to make all criticisms constructive."[69] Similarly, the A.S.N.E. code stated "Freedom from all obligations except that of fidelity to the public interest is vital."[70] The code added: "partisanship in editorial comment which knowingly departs from the truth, does violence to the best spirit of American journalism."[71]

The Missouri code went beyond encouraging political independence within the pages of newspapers. The Association also noted that any journalist "who controls the policy of a newspaper should at the same time hold office or have affiliations, the duties of which conflict with the public service that his newspaper should render."[72]

Many of the codes encouraged independence from business concerns as well. Newspapers had to keep their business and editorial departments separate. Several codes warned newspapers about the dangers of outside financing as well as the incorrectness of publishing stories as payment for business obligations. For example, the Missouri code noted that: "Editorial comment should always be fair and just and not controlled by business or political experiences. Nothing should be printed editorially which the writer will not readily acknowledge as his own in public."[73] Missouri's code added that the only interest guiding the selection, writing and editing of news should be the public's interest.[74]

The Kansas code noted the incorrectness of allowing businesses to have any financial control of newspapers. Such control had the potential to affect newspapers' abilities to provide "a true presentation of all news and free willingness to present every possible point of view under signature or interview."[75] Kansas journalist Alfred Hill praised his state's editorial code's insistence that editors be free from financial influences. Banks financed too many Kansas newspapers, often to the embarrassment of their editors, Hill noted.[76]

The emphasis on independence from business ties was of primary importance in the 1920s. Members of the press had come under particularly vigorous criticism for allowing too many press releases clearly aimed at promoting business interests to pass as legitimate news stories. Clever public relations practitioners, recognizing that a sense of laziness was often pervasive in newsrooms, managed to get many of their press releases reproduced, word for word, as news stories. Editors often only later realized the press releases' business twists.

Stung by the public's indignation at journalists' reliance on press agents, members of the press used codes as a means of publicly stating their opposition to the growth of press agents. During the debate about the A.S.N.E.'s code, one editor stated "I think this Committee is unanimously of opinion that there is no greater menace to American journalism than the publicity agent." The editor called for the A.S.N.E. to make a "forthright declaration" stating its opposition to press agents.[77]

The Massachusetts Press Association was so concerned about the issue of publicity, it constructed its entire ethics code around the topics of press agents and business publicity. The preamble to the state's code said: "The scope and uses of newspaper publicity have been misunderstood and abused to the extent that there has been a wide public misconception of the limits to which a newspaper is justified in extending free use of its space . . ."[78] Oregon's code devoted less space to press agents, but was just as vehement in noting that its newspapers "will not permit, unless in exceptional cases, the publishing of news and editorial matter not prepared by ourselves . . ."[79]

The press also found itself criticized regularly for publishing news of an immoral nature. This charge had been heard since practically the beginning of journalism in America. The issue took on new meaning in the age of jazz journalism, however. Many of the small town publishers that made up the membership of press associations were vehemently opposed to sensationalism and said so through their codes. The Washington and Wisconsin codes, for example, said the associations would be firm in their insistence that only clean news be published.[80] Similarly, other codes sought to end the use of "salacious details" (Colorado), "sordidness" (South Dakota), or "socially detrimental" material (Oregon). The Kansas code, in fact, defined news as "the impartial report of the activities of mind, men, and matter *which do not offend the moral sensibilities of the more enlightened people* (emphasis added)."[81]

The Kansas and Colorado codes also specifically addressed the issue of crime warning that criminal activity should not be made appealing. Colorado, for example, stated "a newspaper is justified in withholding the salacious details from news when no good will come from the publication of these details. Criminal news is important, but it should be so written that impressionable readers will not be tempted to follow the example of the criminal."[82] Similarly, Kansas' code encouraged editors to ban material that violated the public's sense of morality: "Certain crimes against private morality which are revolting to our finer sensibilities should be ignored entirely; however, in the event of their having become public with harmful exaggerations, we may make an elementary statement, couched in the least suggestive language."[83]

Advertising

By the 1920s the long-time claim of advertiser influence in the news columns had not gone away, particularly among the small town press. Those charges remained rampant, and often true. Editors as well as press critics pointed accusing fingers at other editors. For example, New York *Post* Editor Oswald Garrison Villard, in a speech to a journalism conference in 1915, claimed newspaper editors and publishers suppressed news for both profit and out of fear of offending business interests.[84]

Publishers of small town newspapers, less financially sound than their metropolitan counterparts, often found themselves hostage to advertiser demands. Many resented the intrusions in editorial decision making and said so through their ethics codes.

Most ethics codes included large sections devoted to advertising. Every code surveyed except the Newspaper Guild's included at least some discussion of advertising. The Kansas code even began with such a discussion, while the Massachusetts code was devoted entirely to advertising. The most common issues cited were pricing, circulation figures and misleading advertising. These were the traditional concerns of press associations. Many press associations had been formed as loose financial protection societies. Editors banded together as early as the 1850s to set advertising rates and engaged in other financial practices that would later be considered anti-trust violations.

The traditional concerns carried over into codes. Six of the codes, for example, call for equality in pricing, with three condemning the practice of cutting prices below published rates. The Kansas code suggested basing ad rates on costs, "having no consideration for the comparative ability of the advertisers to pay, or the semi-news nature of the advertisement."[85] Colorado's code encourages "a standard price for all, whether the one who pays the charges be the taxpayers, an individual or a corporation."[86]

On a related note, the Massachusetts Press Association urged its members to not publish any advertising free of charge. Whether the request for free advertising came from government, charitable, business or political sources did not matter. The Massachusetts code said it was conforming to the Standard of

Merchandising Practices for newspapers adopted in 1921 by the National Association of Newspaper Executives.[87]

Three other advertising issues--inflated circulation figures, distinguishing advertising copy from news and advertisement of questionable products--received regular coverage in codes. Press associations attempted to stamp out such practices in large measure to increase newspaper credibility.

Six of the codes specifically address the matter of inflated circulation figures, calling them, as the Missouri code stated, a way of "obtaining money under false pretenses."[88]

Advertisements that failed to be labeled as such also received criticism from press associations. For example, Kansas Editor Alfred Hill said his state's code was notable for its statement that all advertisements must be labeled as advertisements and not passed off as news stories. "I have no objection to practically any method's being used by the advertiser to induce the reader to read his advertisement, provided the reader learns before he is through that it is an advertisement," said Hill. Yet he admitted that not all editors in his state agreed. Many newspapers remained careless in labeling advertisements. But, he added that the trend among editors was toward greater accountability in labeling.[89]

Similarly, most codes were critical of false or misleading advertising. All of the codes said advertising should be clearly labeled as such. "The authorship of an advertisement should be so plainly stated in the context or at the end that it could not avoid catching the attention of the reader before he has left the matter," wrote W. E. Miller, author of the Kansas code.[90] Similarly, New Jersey's code called on editors to decline any advertisements which tended to mislead or which did not conform to business integrity.[91]

"It is the duty of a newspaper to refuse advertising which will harm the public," stated the Colorado code. "This applies particularly to harmful drug and financial advertisements."[92] Oregon's code also called for banning advertising "of articles that seem likely to be harmful to the purchaser's morals or health."[93]

Conclusion

Journalism, like many emerging professions, developed press codes as a means of improving standards and answering critics. Most of the principles cited in the codes derived from press traditions. Codes, therefore, were useful in publicizing the standards, ideals and values that many journalists considered professional. Adoption of codes, however, was meant to be more than a statement of professionalism. Codes also served as a form of peer pressure. Editors who failed to see their newspapers as more than business enterprises found themselves quite publicly at odds with the majority of their colleagues.

Press codes developed at a time when the industry most needed a credibility boost. The combined effects of propaganda, press agents, the resurgence of sensationalism and the fruition of the press as big business culminated in a noticeable decline of the public's trust in the press. It is not surprising, then, that the codes consistently emphasized the watchdog ideal, public service, truthfulness and honesty in advertising.

Although little has been written on the effect of press codes, some evidence exists that they did play a role in improving standards among journalists. For example, Kansas Editor Alfred Hill noted that editorial practices had improved markedly since his state's press association adopted a code of ethics. The atmosphere of improved integrity including a decline in the number of fake stories, illustrations and interviews. Furthermore, small town papers, which often had reputations for being unjust in handling crime news, were said to have improved the fairness of their crime coverage. The code, said Hill, had made editors more aware of their responsibilities.[94]

The majority of the codes cited in this work are not still in use by their press associations. This is unfortunate given that many of the issues these codes address are still concerns to date. In large measure, the unenforceability of the codes made many of these codes unworkable. But the issues these codes raised were not lost. Schools of journalism and trade publications continued to address all of these issues, particularly truthfulness, political independence and advertiser influence.

1. Regardless of whether or not journalism fit anyone's traditional definitions of "profession" or "professionalism," many journalists considered themselves to be such and used the term "profession" when referring to journalism. Biographies of some of the best known reporters, editors and publishers use the word "profession" throughout to describe journalism. For a few examples, see: Jacob Riis, The Making of An American (New York: Macmillan, 1902); Julian Ralph, The Making of a Journalist (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1903); Moses Koeningsberg, King News (Philadelphia: F. A. Stokes Co., 1941); Will Irwin, The Making of a Reporter (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1942); Melville E. Stone, Fifty Years a Journalist (Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1922); Willis Abbot, Watching the World Go By (Boston: Little, Brown, 1933); Julius Chambers, News Hunting on Three Continents (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1921); Charles A. Dana, The Art of Newspaper Making (New York: D. Appleton, 1900); Whitelaw Reid, American and English Studies Vol II, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913).

When Joseph Pulitzer heard young staff members at the New York World refer to journalism as a trade or a business, Pulitzer would correct them, claiming that journalism was "a profession--*the* profession." See William Inglis, "An Intimate View of Joseph Pulitzer," Harper's Weekly, 11 November 1911, 7. For more on Pulitzer's views and actions on professionalism, see George Juergens, Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966). For New York Times Publisher Adolph Ochs' views on professionalism, see Gerald W. Johnson, An Honorable Titan (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946). See also Adolph S. Ochs, "Business Announcement," New York Times, 19 August 1896, 4. This is the announcement that ran in the editorial column the day Ochs assumed control of the Times. The theme of journalism as a profession is an undercurrent throughout the article.

For some scholarly views on professionalism, see: Wilson, The Labor of Words, particularly Chapter 1, "Metropolitan Newspapers and the Rise of the Reporter." See also, Jack R. Hart, "Horatio Alger in the Newsroom: Social Origins of American Editors," Journalism Quarterly, 53 (Spring 1976): 18.

2. Herbert Douglas Birkhead, "Presenting the Press: Journalism and the Professional Project," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1982, 91.

3. Howard M. Vollmer and Donald L. Mills, Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), 2. Licensing is not always listed as a factor in every definition.

4. Ibid.

5. See Mary M. Cronin, "A Master For The Watchdog: The Progressive Era Trade Press' Role in Promoting Professional Values and Ethics Among Journalists," a paper presented to the magazine division at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, Mass., August 1991.

6. A number of ethics books came into print in the 1920s. See: Nelson A. Crawford, The Ethics of Journalism (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924); Casper S. Yost, The Principles of Journalism (New York: D. Appleton, 1924); Thomas A. Lahey, The Morals of Newspaper Making, (South Bend: University of Notre Dame, 1924); Leon Nelson Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper: A Case Book in the Principles and Problems of Journalism (New York: Appleton-Century, 1925); William Futhey Gibbons, Newspaper Ethics (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1926).

7. Licensing was even promoted for a time by the trade press and by state press associations before the turn of the century as a tool to enhance responsibility and public duty, but the arguments fell flat. Some press members saw licensing as a violation of First Amendment freedoms and few members of the press wanted their jobs regulated by any sort of press association agency, or communication school, even one staffed by other press members. See: "Licensing for Newspaper Men," Editor and Publisher, 4 May 1912, 8."Licensing Ideal for Journalists Given Trial," Editor and Publisher, 25 July 1925, 9; "Professional Status," Editor and Publisher, 13 March 1926, 32.

8. Frederick L. Allen, "Newspapers And The Truth," The Atlantic Monthly, January 1922, 44-54. See also: Bruce Bliven, "Newspaper Morals," The New Republic, 30 May 1923, 17-19; and, "Sell The Papers!" Harper's Magazine, June 1925, 1-9.

9. "What You See in the Papers," New Republic, 10 December 1919, 40-42.

10. George Creel, How We Advertised America (New York: Harper, 1920); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), 421.

11. Will Irwin's series of articles ran from January to June 1911 in Collier's magazine. They have been bound together and issued as a book. See, Will Irwin, The American Newspaper (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969). Of particular interest see Irwin's first article, "The American Newspaper: The Power of the Press." See also, Merle Thorpe, The Coming Newspaper (New York: Henry Holt, 1915); Edward Alsworth Ross, "The Suppression of Important News," Atlantic Monthly, (March 1910), 303-305; Upton Sinclair, The Brass Check: A Study of American Journalism (Pasadena: printed by the author, 1920); Frederick L. Allen, "Newspapers and the Truth," Atlantic Monthly, (January 1922), 50; Silas Bent, Ballyhoo (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927).

12. Lippmann and his friend Charles Merz muckraked the Times in a lengthy article, "A Test of the News," in the New Republic in August 1920.

13. Philip Knightley, The First Casualty (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich); Eric W. Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics for Journalists," in The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, (May 1922), 171.

14. Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics for Journalists," 170.

15. Many of these, in actuality, were merely policy statements. Often vaguely worded, they offered few specifics as to what standards and practices a newspaper considered professional.

16. The authors would like to thank all of the press associations cited for their help in obtaining or commenting upon their ethics codes. This research requires one caveat, however. While every state press association was contacted regarding ethics codes, almost half of those contacted did not even realize they had adopted codes at some point in their association's history. Some even vehemently denied the existence of such codes. It is unfortunate that so many state press associations have lost their early records, either from carelessness, lack of interest or from fires or floods.

17. The issue of ethics codes is regularly debated by press members. Much of the discussion is frequently negative. And, the criticisms against ethics codes have been quite damning. Codes have been derided as unenforceable, as lacking sanctions for inadherance, as being ignored by the very press members they are supposed to serve, as violations of the libertarian notion of the First Amendment and as having only a limited value in achieving their main purpose--conveying ethical values to journalists. See: Jay Black and Ralph Barney, "The Case Against Mass Media Codes of Ethics," A paper presented to the 1985 annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication; Emile Durkheim, Professional Ethics and Civic Morals, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), 1-41. The ASNE code has been the subject of several articles. See, for example, Alf Pratte, "The ASNE debate over teeth in the code of ethics, 1923-1932," a paper presented to the American Journalism Historians 1990 Convention, Couer d'Alene, Idaho; Bruce Evensen, "A Struggle Over Professionalism: Jazz Age Journalism And The Founding of the American Society of Newspaper Editors," a paper presented to the 1990 annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Minneapolis, Minn.

18. See the May 1922 edition of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

19. Frederick L. Allen, "Newspapers and the Truth," The Atlantic Monthly, January 1922, 44-54.

20. Bruce J. Evensen, "A Struggle Over Professionalism: Jazz Age Journalism And the Founding of the American Society of Newspaper Editors," 1.

21. Many press associations have written their histories. See, for example: Arthur Riedesel, The Story of the Nebraska Press Association, 1873-1973 (Lincoln: Nebraska Press Association, 1973); L. Edward Carter, The Story of Oklahoma Newspapers (Muskogee, OK: Western Heritage Books, 1984); Joseph George Duncan, "First 25 Years of Michigan Press Association," The Michigan Publisher, January 1943, 3-4;10; John Cameron Sim, "The History of the North Dakota Press Association," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, July 1940.

22. The Wisconsin Press Association noted this in an article in its official magazine, The Howler. See, "Successful Winter Meeting," The Howler, February 1925, no page number.

23. Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics for Journalists," 172.

24. Ibid., 176.

25. Reprinted in Leon Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 387.

26. Willard G. Bleyer, "Journalism as a Profession," The Howler, November 1923, 2. (Note: The Howler was the official publication of the Wisconsin Press Association).

27. "Code of Ethics of Colo. Press Ass'n," The Colorado Editor, February 1930, 6.

28. Willard G. Bleyer, Newspaper Writing and Editing (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 357-358.

29. Sarah L. Williams, Twenty Years of Education for Journalism (Columbia: E. W. Stephens Publishing, 1929); Albert A. Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States from its Beginning to 1940 (Evanston: Northwestern University, 1945), 1-4.

30. Leon Nelson Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper: A Case Book in the Principles and Problems of Journalism (New York: D. Appleton, 1925), 385.

31. Ibid., 281-282.

32. This statement needs one qualification. Although the majority of state press association proceedings examined did not reveal any real debates concerning adoption of these codes, many state press associations have lost transcripts, proceedings, monthly magazines, etc. Therefore, it is possible that a few of the 13 state associations examined for this research had some debate at

conferences when the codes were formally presented. If so, no records of such debate appears to exist. State historical associations and universities were searched as well as the press associations themselves.

33. James T. Williams, Jr., "The Responsibility of the Press," The Quill, (May 1924), 8.

34. Williams, it should be mentioned, was Chair of the A.S.N.E.'s Ethical Standards Committee, so therefore he had a vested interested in the group's ethics code.

35. Ibid., 9.

36. Stanley Walker, City Editor, 172-173. Walker set forth the following cautionary note, however: "There has long been, in the curious business of journalism, a yearning for respectability, a pathetic hankering for righteousness." Editors, said Walker, feel better after attending ethics sessions at professional conferences. "Then they return to the job of getting out a newspaper, there to find what they knew all along--that it is a business of imponderables, of hairline decisions, where right and wrong seem inextricably mixed up with that even more nebulous thing called Good Taste."

37. Evident from reading the codes is just how many of the state editorial associations' codes borrowed lines and principles from each other.

38. H. L. Mencken saw this as one of the biggest flaws of press codes. See, H. L. Mencken, "Learning How to Blush," in A Gang of Pecksniffs, 110-115.

39. Reprinted in Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 440-442.

40. The Texas code also was adopted by the South Florida Press Association.

41. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 442.

42. "The Power of the Press," The Journalist, 11 April 1891, 4.

43. "Publishers Should Protect the Public," Editor and Publisher, 24 August 1901, 4.

44. "As A Profession," Editor and Publisher, 15 August 1903, 4. See also, "The Responsibility of Editors," Editor and Publisher, 1 November 1902, 4; and, "What Makes Good Reporters?" Editor and Publisher, 31 May 1902, 4.

45. Reprinted in Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 435-436.

46. Ibid., 440.

47. Ibid., 443.

48. "Adopt Code of Ethics," The Howler, February 1925, no page number.

49. Hundreds of articles of press criticism appeared in the nineteenth century. For the best compilation see: Hazel Dickin-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989). For twentieth-century press criticism see: Marion Marzolf, Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism 1880-1950 (New York: Longman, 1991).

50. "The Illinois Code," Journalism Bulletin, 2 (2) (Spring 1924), 28.

51. Ibid.

52. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 445.

53. "Code of Ethics of Colo. Press Ass'n," 6.

54. Problems of Journalism: Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting American Society of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D.C.: April 27-28, 1923, 40.

55. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 436.

56. "The Illinois Code," 28.

57. The earliest trade publication, The Journalist (established in 1883) frequently referred to truth as an essential characteristic of professional journalism. Truthfulness was linked to credibility and the watchdog role. Early proponents of professionalism regularly admonished fakers. See, for example, Whitelaw Reid, American and English Studies Vols I & II (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913); Samuel Bowles, "The Independent Press: Its Opportunities and Duties," The North American Review, July 1906, 40-46.

58. Allen, "The Social Value of a Code of Ethics for Journalists," 173.

59. James T. Williams, Jr., "The Responsibility of the Press," The Quill, (May 1924), 8.

60. "The foundation stone of the profession of journalism is truth," stated the South Dakota code.

61. "What You See in the Papers," New Republic, 10 December 1919, 40.

62. Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 436.

63. Reprinted in Susan M. Kingsbury, *Newspapers and the News* (New York: Putnam, 1937), 108.

64. "The Illinois Code," 28.

65. "Code of Ethics of Colo. Press Ass'n," *The Colorado Editor*, February 1930, 6.

66. Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 436.

67. Whitelaw Reid, *American and English Studies*; Samuel Bowles, "The Independent Press: Its Opportunities and Duties," 40-46.

68. "Adopt Code of Ethics," *The Howler*, no page number.

69. Reprinted in *The Howler*. See: "Ten Points of Ethics," *The Howler*, April 1924, no page number.

70. "Problems of Journalism," Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting American Society of Newspaper Editors, Washington, D.C., April 27-28, 1923, 41.

71. Reprinted in Leon Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 428.

72. Ibid., 441.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 429-435.

76. Alfred Hill, "The Practice of the Kansas Code of Ethics for Newspapers," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 187.

77. *Problems of Journalism: Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting American Society of Newspaper Editors*, 27-28 April 192342.

78. Reprinted in Edgar L. Heermance, *Codes of Ethics: A Handbook* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Printing Co., 1924), 266-267.

79. Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 439.

80. "Adopt Code of Ethics," no page number; Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 445-446.

81. Flint, *The Conscience of the Newspaper*, 432.

82. "Code of Ethics of Colo. Press Ass'n.," The Colorado Editor, February 1930, 6.

83. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 433.

84. Reprinted in Merle Thorpe, The Coming Newspaper (New York: Henry Holt, 1915), 58.

85. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 430.

86. "Code of Ethics of Colo. Press Ass'n," 6.

87. Heermance, Codes of Ethics, 267.

88. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 441-442.

89. Alfred Hill, "The Practice of the Kansas Code of Ethics for Newspapers," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 182.

90. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 429.

91. Kingsbury, Newspapers and the News, 113.

92. "Code of Ethics of Colo. Press Ass'n," 6.

93. Flint, The Conscience of the Newspaper, 440.

94. Alfred G. Hill, "The Practice of the Kansas Code of Ethics for Newspapers, The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, May 1922, 185.

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PENITENTS BROUGHT INTO THE FOLD:

TALES OF CONVERSION, HERESY, AND CONTRITION IN *TIME* MAGAZINE

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Abstract

PENITENTS BROUGHT INTO THE FOLD: TALES OF CONVERSION, HERESY, AND CONTRITION IN *TIME* MAGAZINE

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1-602-965-5011

This paper examines the presentation of vivid and powerful symbols—converts and heretics—that were manipulated and arrayed by *Time* magazine between 1959 and 1992. The paper argues that ideological considerations embedded in the stories were as important as the fact of conversion or the renunciation of heresy, such journalistic standards of newsworthiness as prominence, or the influence of individual journalists or editors. Media portrayals of such penitents should be regarded as a public ceremony of affirmation of societal standards as correct and just.

The stories are arranged in three categories. The first is heretics of Communism, which includes such defectors as Svetlana Alliluyeva, the daughter of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin. The second includes articles about such radicals of race and religion as Governor George Wallace, and the former Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver. Stories about once-violent revolutionaries and political and social radicals of the 1960s are included in the third category.

While *Time* devoted much space to the struggle between East and West, its ideology was one of the center struggling against left and right. While such extremists challenged the center, they represented an opportunity as well. Prodigals restored symbolically to the fold, converts welcomed into it provided vivid symbols pointing to the rightness of *Time*'s ideology of the center, which the magazine regarded as synonymous with America itself.

PENITENTS BROUGHT INTO THE FOLD: TALES OF CONVERSION, HERESY, AND CONTRITION IN *TIME* MAGAZINE

The stigma of deviance is not immutable; indeed, many outcasts have made the passage from hostility or persecution to tolerance, even respectability. The company of once-despised deviants ranges from religious bodies (such as the Mormon church) to political radicals (such as Malcolm X) to practitioners of deviant sciences and alternative medical systems (e.g., radio astronomy and acupuncture). Despite such readily available examples, the historical dimension of deviance has often been overlooked, perhaps in part because of Durkheim's insistence that deviance is a universal, not merely existing in all societies but performing an essential function in them by promoting both unity and flexibility.[1] For whatever reason, scholars of deviance have tended to neglect the counsel of Joseph Gusfield that

> deviance designations have histories; the public definition of deviant is itself changeable. It is open to reversals of political power, twists of public opinion, and the development of social movements and moral crusades. What is attacked as criminal today may be seen as sick next year and fought over as possibly legitimate by the next generation.[2]

Gusfield's admonition should apply with equal force to studies of mass media presentations of deviance. Those studies are, of course, far from novel. For more than a decade, it has been recognized that mass media "have long operated as agents of moral indignation in their own right: even if they are not self-consciously engaged in crusading or muck raking, their very reporting of certain 'facts' can be sufficient to generate concern, anxiety, indignation, or panic." Inasmuch as journalistic conventions "originate, persist, and shift in historical time," as Todd Gitlin points out, media portraits of deviance are subject to change: "Yesterday's ignored or ridiculed kook becomes today's respected 'consumer activist.'"[3]

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[1] Deviance is culturally relative and historically specific. For example, the act of killing "is treated differentially in different times and cultures. . .[and] treated differentially in the same culture." Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *The Politics and Morality of Deviance: Moral Panics, Drug Abuse, Deviant Science, and Reversed Stigmatization* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), p. 8.

[2] Joseph R. Gusfield, "Moral Passage: The Symbolic Process in Public Designations of Deviance," *Social Problems*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Fall, 1967), p. 187. The exceptions, which have increased in number in recent years, include Jon Oplinger's *The Politics of Demonology: The European Witchcraze and the Mass Production of Deviance* (Selinsgrove and London: Susquehanna University Press/Associated University Presses, 1990), an exploration of the mass production of deviance in societies ranging from the Soviet Union of Stalin to the McCarthy era in the United States to the Holocaust of the Third Reich; the cultural historian James Gilbert's careful examination of the sometimes hysterical debate over mass media and juvenile delinquency, *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Todd Gitlin's examination of mass media delegitimation of a social movement in the 1960s, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Francis Hearn's reworking of the E. P. Thompson's Marxist history of the English working class, *Domination, Legitimation, and Resistance: The Incorporation of the Nineteenth-Century English Working Class* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978); Troy Duster's examination of the redefinition of drugs in the United States at the turn of the century, *The Legislation of Morality: Law, Drugs, and Moral Judgment* (New York: The Free Press, 1970); and Kai T. Erikson's application of deviance theory to a historical episode during the colonial period in New England, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966).

Respectability may come, for example, to a deviant who converts or returns to a religious, political, or social system or institution, recanting heresy, and often expressing contrition. Such actions and expressions are usually insufficient in themselves. They require certification, which occurs (to take the case of criminal offenders) when "some recognized members of the conventional community publicly announce and verify that the ex-felon need no longer be considered a criminal but rather should now be treated as a normal member of the social group."[4] News media, to take the most obvious example of a promoter of social acceptance, may certify that a deviant has returned to the path of righteousness, thus erasing the stigma of deviance—or, of course, they may refuse to do so.

This paper examines depictions by *Time* , between 1959 and 1992, of conversion, heresy, and contrition—"the symbolic restoration of daughters to the family, of deviants to the fold."[5]

There is a paucity of studies of media tales of conversion. The lack of attention can probably be traced to the commonsensical argument that a conversion occurred and journalists simply recounted the facts of repentance. It is not so simple. To begin with, stories of conversion, recantation, and contrition did not simply appear. When *Time* embedded accounts of conversion in book reviews, for example, it had to choose the books from a pool that was far larger than could be reviewed. *Time* reviewed no more than a few hundred books; publishers sent it 5,000 to 6,000 books. Nor were book reviews, much less general articles, free of ideology—as witness *Time*'s review of Frantz Fanon's anti-colonialism tract, *The Wretched of the Earth*. *Time* responded with fury driven by ideology. *The Wretched of the Earth* was "not so much a book as a rock thrown through the windows of the West," written by a black intellectual who was "something of a case study" in mental disorders, and introduced by Jean-Paul Sartre, who presented the "revolting" spectacle of one who bared "his unheroic chest to beat a *nostra culpa* . . .and proclaiming, with masochistic shouts, that Europe is dead."[6] Finally, as Kai Erikson observed in a related context, repentance is not only a private act of contrition but a public ceremony of admission. "To repent is to agree that the moral standards of the community are right and that . . .one has 'sinned against his own conscience' and entirely understands why the community has to punish or even kill him."[7] Thus, attention is shifted from individual motivation to the strain accompanying conversion, the reaffirmation of community or societal standards as correct and just. When a prodigal returns to or a convert seeks admission to the fold, this is powerful proof of the vigor of one system and, often, the failures of another.

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[3] On media as agents of moral indignation, see Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (London: MacGibbon and Kee), p. 16, quoted in Ben-Yehuda, *Politics and Morality of Deviance*, pp. 271-272, n. 2. Gitlin, *Whole World Is Watching*, p. 4.

[4] Thomas Meisenhelder, "Becoming Normal: Certification as a Stage in Exiting from Crime," in Clifton D. Bryant, ed., *Deviant Behavior: Readings in the Sociology of Norm Violations* (New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation, 1990), p. 788.

[5] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1979), pp. 98-99.

Tales of conversion, defection, and recantation from the Cold War are included in the first of three categories taken up by this paper. The defectors and converts, American and foreign, were as obscure as a party commissar who served during the Spanish Civil War, as renown as the Nobel Prize-winning author Albert Camus. The second category, radicals of race and religion, similarly includes the obscure (a clothing merchant from Little Rock, for instance) and internationally known (the former segregationist George Wallace). Finally, the paper examines *Time*'s coverage of the deradicalization of the rebellious youth of the 1960s—the violent revolutionaries who, in *Time*'s phrase, came in from the cold after years spent on the run, and the political and social radicals who "grew up" and became like the parents of Middle America whose values and aspirations the rebels had once spurned.

HERETICS OF COMMUNISM

Defections by Communists, well known or obscure, held a powerful attraction for *Time*. The most prominent of these defectors was Svetlana Alliluyeva, the only daughter of Joseph Stalin. She defected to the United States in 1967. Soviet authorities had permitted her to travel to India in order to convey "the ashes of my late husband, Mr. Brajesh Singh, to his home in

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[6] Estimates of the numbers of books sent to *Time* appear in "One Week: The Literary Overflow," p. 108, and Ralph P. Davidson, "A Letter from the Publisher," *Time*, December 10, 1973, p. 2. The review of Fanon's book is "Prisoner of Hate," *Time*, April 30, 1965, pp. 114, 117.

[7] Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*, p. 195.

India." She said that she had expected to return home in a month's time, but decided that she "could not return to Moscow" even though she would have to give up her children, who had remained there.[8]

Evidence that *Time* considered the defection a major coup for the West was the decision to publish the full text of "her extraordinary statement about why she left Russia."[9] While avowing that Svetlana was "not a political person," its story had the sort of ideological twist consonant with the Cold War tensions of 1967. Symbolically, she rejected her father and identified with her mother, Nadezhda Allilueva, who was shot to death, the story implied, by Stalin. "Like her mother, Svetlana was a free soul in a society fettered by her father, and has even adopted her mother's maiden name (she calls herself Svetlana Allilueva). As Stalin's daughter, she was, as she put it last week, "a kind of state property."[10]

Time acquitted Svetlana of motives that were less than lofty. It offered the testimony of an expert, George Kennan, the former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union. She was not avenging herself on her father, nor did Svetlana desire to harm her country, Kennan said. *Time* made it clear that she had not defected with the idea of enriching herself by publishing her manuscript about her life with Stalin. Svetlana had never had a bank account, and cherished no hope for her manuscript greater than getting "enough money to buy a car and a dog—a 'gypsy' dog, she said, like her."[11] Finally, there was the sticky point that she had abandoned two children. Her statement put the abandonment in a different light: "'I know they will understand me and what I have done. They also belong to the new generation in our country, which does not want to be fooled by old ideas. . . . I know they will not reject me and one day we shall meet. I will wait for that.'"[12]

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[8] "Svetlana Speaks," *Time*, April 28, 1967, p. 37.

[9] Ibid. In the ten-paragraph statement, published as a sidebar, she said that she sought "the self-expression that has been denied me for so long in Russia. Since my childhood I have been taught Communism, and I did believe in it, as we all did, my generation. But slowly, with age and experience I began to think differently. In recent years, we in Russia have begun to think, to discuss, to argue, and we are not so much automatically devoted any more to the ideas which were were taught. . . .The publication of my book will symbolize for me the main purpose of my journey here. The freedom of self-expression which I seek can, I hope, take the form of additional writing, study and reading on the literary subjects in which I am most interested." Ibid.

[10] "'Hello There, Everybody,'" *Time*, April 28, 1967, p. 37.

[11] Ibid., p. 38.

[12] "Svetlana Speaks," p. 37.

The sympathetic tone changed markedly in 1984, when Svetlana defected back to the Soviet Union. What she did was "a propaganda victory" for the Communists, *Time* conceded, but it sought to ensure that they could not make very much of it. To begin with, there were all those things the Soviets had said about her, branding her a "'morally unstable person' who had betrayed her country and abandoned her two children."[13] Then there were all those things she said since defecting in 1967:

> Svetlana had frequently denounced the Soviet regime in books and interviews. She called the Bolshevik revolution a tragedy for Russia and characterized Stalin as "a moral and spiritual monster." Repudiating her Soviet citizenship, she ritually burned her passport. Her worst nightmare, she declared, was of returning to the Soviet Union. "When I now see Moscow in my dreams, I wake up in horror," she wrote. "It's as if one were dreaming of a prison from which one had escaped." She vowed, "I shall never return to that prison."[14]

Time did publish her criticisms of America, but almost at the end of the article, after her attacks on the Soviets. Moreover, she "regarded the U.S. and the Soviet Union as equal menaces to world peace. In the U.S., she said, she felt she had moved 'from one cage to another.'" [15]

And the magazine came up with a theory that a mother's longing for her children and her hunger for her grandchildren led her to return to "Her Prison." The article observed:

> Last March she told a British journalist, "I don't believe in regretting my fate, but it is sometimes very hard. I have not seen my son and daughter for 17 years, and I have a grandson and granddaughter whom I have never seen." Svetlana's telling final cry: "Sometimes it's an almost superhuman effort not to drop everything and to run and get a ticket to go and see them. Sometimes I don't care what the regime is. I just want to see my grandchildren."[16]

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[13] Patricia Blake, Bonnie Angelo and Mary Cronin, "Svetlana Returns to Her 'Prison,'" *Time*, November 12, 1984, p. 66.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. The same tactic was used in a story two weeks later. The article emphasized her motive of ending a family separation over the ideological criticism that she claimed to have been "naive about life in the U.S. and had become a 'favorite pet' of the CIA. Said Svetlana: 'Having found myself in the so-called free world, I was not free for a single day.'" Time also published a declaration that she was criticizing the United States at the behest of the Soviet authorities: "Last Friday, *Svetlana abruptly paid the price of her return ticket* to the U.S.S.R. when she appeared before 25 Soviet and Western journalists at the Moscow headquarters of the Committee of Soviet Women. *Reading from a prepared text,* she said that she had returned to Moscow of her own free will." [Emphasis added] The article also de-emphasized her importance as a defector by pointing out that "Two other Soviet defectors decided to return home last week." The men, deserters from a military unit in Afghanistan, lacked the prominence of Stalin's only daughter. In addition, their motive for redefection, "British officials said that they had grown homesick after receiving letters from their families," lent support to the emphasis that a desire to end the separation from family had been Svetlana's motivation. See "Coming Home,"

Time published a devastating portrait of Svetlana Alliluyeva the following year when it devoted four pages to "The Saga of Stalin's 'Little Sparrow.'" The story paid little attention to the ideological conflict of East and West; it did note her statement to a press conference in Moscow "that she had not known 'one single day' of freedom in the West." The article represented a marked change from previous coverage. During the last 10 years of his régime, according to *Time* in 1967, Svetlana had been the "person closest to Stalin" but theirs "was a strange relationship, for the two had little in common. In looks and temperment, Svetlana took after her mother."[17] Like father, like daughter was the dominant theme of the story in 1985. "In retrospect," *Time* wrote, "it seems clear that her ultimate quarrel was with her father, whom she fatefully resembled." The article (which was accompanied by a photograph of Svetlana glaring imperiously) drove home the message that she was her father's daughter. Svetlana was not transformed by her sojourn in the United States, *Time* said; rather, fame and fortune won in America brought to the surface "some of the lordly ways Svetlana had learned during her 26 years in the Kremlin." A compelling example was her treatment of servants and social equals.[18] An elderly "black houseman working for a family that had rented their Princeton home to Svetlana was devastated by her imperious manner. After he cautioned her about her treatment of some precious objects in the house, she said to him, "'How dare you! You're only a servant!'" [19]

The article was replete with such incidents. She married William Wesley Peters, chief architect of Taliesin West, the architectural firm and school founded by Frank Lloyd Wright. "The egalitarian atmosphere at Taliesin West—everyone was expected to share in the house and yard work—was not to her liking. It reminded her of Communism, she said." There was another reason for her unhappiness, according to her brother-in-law: "'She and Mrs. Wright [widow of the founder] were like two empresses in the same empire.'"[20]

Time, November 26, 1984, p. 76.

[17] "'Hello There, Everybody,'" p. 37.

[18] Patricia Blake, "Stalin's 'Little Sparrow,'" *Time*, January 28, 1985, p. 56.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 57.

As Stalin had hit Svetlana when she angered him, so Svetlana abused her daughter, Olga, striking her "in the face with a clenched fist" or complaining that Olga, unlike the children whom Svetlana had left in Moscow, was "a fool, spoiled rotten." Like father, like daughter, too, when "she spoke of conspiracies against her, much as Stalin had done in his time. 'Something is around me, a "bad aura," fears, gossip, talk, two governments plotting *to get rid* of me simultaneously,' she complained."[21] Father and daughter seemed equally ruthless. She

> stunned an elderly Russian woman, an émigré, by writing to her, "You are a KGB agent. You are a double and triple agent.' As Svetlana well knew, it was the kind of denunciation that was made against tens of thousands of innocent people during Stalin's Great Terror in the 1930s. Says the recipient of the letter: "She would have executed me had she possessed the power."[22]

So quarrelsome was Svetlana that within days after her return to Moscow she had quarreled with her son Joseph, had showered obscenities on American television cameramen who had approached her on the streets, and, because of her dissatisfaction with "the cool official welcome she received, she has several times displayed her temper to the Soviet authorities."[23]

Svetlana's saga did not end here. In 1986, Svetlana "had another change of heart."[24] Her petition to "Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev, requesting permission to leave the country," was granted and, inasmuch as she had not surrendered her American citizenship, she soon flew from Moscow to Chicago. Now, *Time* said, there were no propaganda advantages to be rung out of her re-redefection by either side:

> When Svetlana Alliluyeva, . . . defected to the U.S. almost 20 years ago and declared her homeland a "prison," the West enjoyed a huge propaganda coup. When she redefected to the Soviet Union in 1984, the Soviets could claim their own victory after she said that she had not been free for "one single day" while living in the U.S. Last week, Svetlana again returned to American soil. But this time neither East nor West had much to say, perhaps in recognition that her restless wanderings are intensely personal and have little to do with ideologies.[25]

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[21] Ibid., p. 58. *Time* also reported that she had slapped her husband at a "gala dinner party" and had thrown "the contents of a highball glass into the hostess's face during a cocktail party and was forcibly escorted out." Ibid., p. 57.

[22] Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[23] Ibid., p. 59. The Soviet authorities, according to *Time*, had lured Svetlana to redefect to the Soviet Union, using her son as an intermediary because they believed that "an official emissary from Moscow" would be turned away by Svetlana. "Perhaps unwittingly, Joseph kept his mother on the line for nine months, playing her much as an angler does when hauling in a fighting fish. Judging from what Svetlana told acquaintances in Cambridge and London, she was reeled in stage by stage." Ibid.

[24] "Changing Sides Again," *Time*, April 14, 1986, p. 47.

[25] Michael S. Serrill, Nancy Traver, and Arturo Yáñez, "An Endless Odyssey," *Time*, April 28, 1986, p. 43.

That said, *Time* did manage to extract the odd tidbit of propaganda advantage. The Soviets, she claimed, had "directed the script for her return press conference [in 1984]. Said she: 'They made me write texts in Russia, which they all approved. I felt very awkward. I wanted to say simply, "I came to join my children."'" It also reported that she had tired of her "austere life," even though the Soviet government "accorded the mother and daughter privileges reserved for the elite. . . .a large apartment, a car, and a driver." Finally, there was her almost gushing declaration "that she had to leave the U.S. to understand 'how wonderful it is.'" Nn the final analysis, hoerbrt, the situation was unpromising: Gorbachev's rise to power had already given indications of a rapprochement between East and West. Nor was it even clear that Svetlana would remain in America. Thus, the saga was closed with a reference to "Svetlana Alliluyeva's endless, unhappy search for peace of mind."[26]

Stalin's daughter was far from the only Communist apostate featured in the pages of *Time*, a devout foe of Communism. Another was the French author Albert Camus, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1957, whose death in an automobile accident in 1960 was covered by the magazine. His renuciation of Communism was one of the major elements of the article; he "joined the Communist Party and then quit in disgust. . .In 1951 his fiercely anti-Marxist *The Rebel* burst upon Paris." *Time* reported, with no discernible reluctance, his devastating critique that Communism was no better than Naziism, for "all executioners are of the same family." True, Camus was critical of the West, but he redeemed himself with this observation: "'It may be necessary to fight a lie in the name of a quarter-truth,' said Camus. . . .'The quarter-truth that Western Civilizations contain is called liberty. Without liberty it is possible to improve heavy industry, but not to increase justice or truth.'"[27]

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[26] Ibid. Actually *Time* seemed as much or more concerned with the reactions of her American daughter Olga as with the mother. The girl flew to London to resume studies at a Quaker school from which she had been removed by her mother in 1984. "When asked what she had missed about the West, the girl gushed, 'Just the whole thing." Nonetheless, she had nothing negative to say about the Soviet Union, describing her 18-month sojourn there as a 'great experience.'" Ibid. An interesting commentary on changed ideological climate was the essentially neutral report of what once would have been called the defection from the Soviet Union of an American citizen, Abe Stolar, who "left with his parents for the Soviet Union in 1931" and spent 58 years there, including service in the Red Army during World War II. The tenor of the report is indicated by absence of the word defection and the choice of the phrase in the headline attached to the brief story: "A Sweet Homecoming," *Time*, July 17, 1989, p. 65.

[27] "The Rebel," *Time*, January 18, 1960, pp. 28-29.

Time was marked by a kind of missionary flavor for much of its history—no surprise given that co-founder Henry Luce, the son of American missionaries in China. A missionary in Haiti caught *Time*'s eye in 1960. Its story emphasized ideology over good works:

> Roger Riou's father, . . .was a rabid Communist, his mother also a dedicated Red. So thoroughly did they train their child that Roger was selling the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* on sidewalks at the age of nine. At twelve, he was militating in a Communist youth gang, apparently convinced on his own that Communism was the answer to mankind's problems. . . .During a strike in Le Havre in 1926, as a 16-year-old. . .roughneck,. . .Riou battled cops in the streets. Thrown into reform school, seemingly incorrigible, he soon taught the Marxist gospel to 100 other inmates and then led them in an unsuccessful attempt to escape [that]. . .landed him in solitary confinement, manacled wrist and ankle.[28]

From such unpromising stock sprang, almost miraculously, a missionary who ministered "to the people's spiritual needs and physical ailments. The ex-kid brawler is now a Roman Catholic priest as well as a physician."[29] Naturally, *Time* emphasized conversion and consequences:

> During the long hours of his stretch in solitary at reform school Roger began to doubt Red doctrine. Later, the sympathetic director of the school persuaded him that he could do more for humanity by becoming a priest than by passing out Communist pamphlets. . . . Father Riou's Notre Dame des Palmistes mission hospital treats 9,000 patients each year for TB, leprosy, venereal disease, and a catalogue of other ills. . . .Its beds are always filled; 60 outpatients are treated daily, and there is a waiting line.[30]

The tale of passage from evil to goodness closed on the note that, "To Haitians, Father Riou is a *'bon blanc'*—a good white man."[31]

Other good men had kept their souls by escaping Communism—a lesson *Time* taught more than once. It offered this parable of two Communists in 1961:

> In the late 1920s, two young Italian Communists received a directive from Moscow. The Kremlin's order: Italian Socialists, though they risked their lives to fight Fascism, were sabotaging world revolution and must be liquidated; the Communists must deliver the secret roster of Socialist leaders to the Fascist police. For days the two friends debated what to do. One of the men, Palmiro Togliatti, bowed to Moscow and with that act of trust treachery began rising through the upper

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[28] *"Le Bon Blanc," Time*, November 21, 1960, p. 39. The magazine may have published the tale of the conversion of Roger Riou to balance a story on the same page about entrenched enclaves of Communists in Columbia. See "Backlands Bolshevism," *Time*, November 21, 1960, p. 39.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., pp. 39-40.

[31] Ibid., p. 42.

echelons to head the Italian Communist Party. The other, Ignazio Silone, refused and later left the party to write *Fontamara* and *Bread and Wine*, world-famed novels that incarnated both the plight of humble Italians and the soul of man under tyranny.[32]

The moral ("it is more honorable to betray one's party than one's fellow man") was used to review Silone's novel *The Fox and the Camellias*, which *Time* pronounced "beyond Fascism, Communism, socialism, or even humanism"—but not beyond religion. "It is a Christian statement, arguing essentially that all men are fallen creatures, but that none is beneath the redemptive grace of God or above the place of his own conscience."[33]

One of the "ex-Communist apologias" reviewed was the autobiography of Gustav Regler, *The Owl of Minerva*. The mistreatment of a prisoner Regler witnessed at age five was a powerful influence. He

> joined [the Communist Party] with the simple feeling that "things can't go on like this." There is a good deal of spiritual agonizing and plain blundering before he winds his way out and comes to reality. But,. . .this is not an exercise in self-justification; Regler does not claim to have been betrayed," but painfully pinpoints his own moral ambiguities as a pious prisoner in the "false monastery" of Marx.[34]

Regler was a "good man" dedicated "to his delusions" because of a passion for social justice. He had his doubts, "but as so many Communists have managed to do, he carried them like an unwelcome letter [that] one postpones opening." It was his wife, Marie Louise, who, "through her beauty and her faith in the things unseen," enabled "Regler eventually. . .to see his politics as stale and inhuman." Recording the death of Regler two years later, *Time* raised no objection to his excessive devotion to justice. Just "this month [Regler] traveled to India to form a new international brigade to fight the Red Chinese."[35]

Similar as an account of an awakening to the evils of Communism was *American Commissar*, a recollection by Sandor Voros. *Time* listed the book's shortcomings: the author, "a very ordinary fellow"; his autobiography, "as boring as the next man's" because he lacked the "artist's power of making others listen to his own troubles"; his style, "rather like an Eagle Scout who discovered the fix was on at national headquarters"; and, in any event, "the sermons of renegade Communist votaries may be a bore."[36] That said, *Time* asserted—not altogether convincingly—it was a "true and convincing book"—as it avidly promoted its message:

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[32] "Left v. Right v. Wrong," *Time*, May 26, 1961, p. 99.

[33] Ibid.

[34] "A Ghost Walks," *Time*, March 7, 1960, p. 102.

[35] Ibid., pp. 1-2, 104. Regler's "real conscience," she recognized "left-wingers as loquacious loungers who would cut down a walnut tree under which Rilke had written a poem rather than walk farther for firewood—and knew at the same time that nothing good would come of that lot." Nevertheless, like her husband, she was misled by too much pity for the persecuted. "As a gesture against political bullies back home, Marie Louise once carried a bamboo blowpipe to puff pepper into the eyes of German police; pity had made her, too, willing to blind someone. Symbolically, Regler buried the pepper gun with her in her coffin." Ibid., p. 104. On the international brigade, see "Milestones," *Time*, January 25, 1963, p. 72.

> He seems to have drifted into Communism through loneliness, general muddle, and a real sympathy that made him unhappy when other people had no money for food or rent. He does even seem to have thought about it much. That, in fact, is the menacing doctrine of his book. If "conditions" are right, Voros implies, Communism in the U.S. would again do quite as nicely as it did in the Red decade [when]. . . a million living Americans. . .passed through the Marxist mill.[37]

Voros' salvation was his lack of intellect; at best he was "very woolly on Marxist theory. This philosophical fuzziness saved him; he stubbornly remained human." He was shocked at the party's callousness in Spain and corruption that left

> mail from the Americans [serving in the International Brigade]. . .piled up in the party's Paris office because a comrade had swiped the stamp money. Also, he came to know that of the millions collected by the party for "Spanish aid," 99 cents out of every dollar stuck to the party's pocket. It is always some little thing that makes for a change of faith. In Voros' case, it seems to have ben that stamp money. He stirred up a row about the mail and finally said: "I believe you, comrade, individually you are not responsible. But collectively, every single son-of-a-bitch of us is." To think like this, and worse, to think it aloud, is no longer to think as a Communist.[38]

Voros' conversion cost him greatly. He could have remained a Communist; he had been designated "one of the party's chosen people, with jobs, adulation, power, and prestige at his command." But he paid the price, becoming "doubly an outcast" shunned by left and right.[39]

Unlike Voros, an ordinary man deluded by Communism, Andrzej Stawar was Poland's leading Marxist theoretician, albeit unknown to ordinary readers. After conflicts with Stalin in the 1930s, Stawar went into hiding. Not until Poland gained a measure of independence from Moscow did Stawar return to prominence in Communist Poland in 1956. The story, so far as *Time* was concerned, began rather than ended here. Stawar's was a deathbed conversion. Learning that he was terminally ill, Stawar left Poland for Paris, as a friend later put it, "'to publish the truth as he saw it.' For five months, while dying of cancer, he wrote and rewrote the manuscript that embodied this truth. . . .It proved to be the most devastating indictment of the Communist system since Milovan Djilas' *The New Class.*" Caesarism, despite criticisms of Stalin by Khruschev, was the "fatal flaw" of the Soviet government, wrote Stawar. "'Even the most timid criticism made today in the Soviet Union is smothered. . .Only the successes are admitted; it is necessary to lie about the failures.'" What followed was vitriolic: "'Bolshevism contains the seeds of insanity. Even minor differences of program breed treasonous denunciations" occurring "in a mental stage of hate-filled asphyxiation.'"[40]

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[36] "Another Witness," *Time*, May 12, 1961, p. 92. *Time* was anticipating the groans from readers "that all ex-Communists write books about their party-going days"—and perhaps that *Time* reviewed most of them.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid. Another tale of an ordinary man's conversion was that of Pal Kosa, who had "seemed a model young Communist" until the Hungarian revolution in 1956. He led resistance fighters against the Soviet invasion; he was later captured, tried in secret with no testimony in his favor permitted, and shot. No mention of the trial or execution appeared in the Hungarian press, "but word leaked out to the *Manchester Guardian*'s Victor Zorza, a Polish exile. . . .Why such secrecy, asks Zorza, why this great fear of obscure Pal Kosa even when dead and buried in an unmarked grave? 'Could it be because to many in Hungary he is a national hero?'" See "Against the Wall,"*Time*, August 31, 1959, p. 28.

The author and social critic Max Eastman, who gave up "radicalism for respectability," also had recognized the insanity in Communism; he also gave up "radicalism for respectability." A review of his autobiography, published in 1965, and an obituary, published in 1969, drew an engaging sketch of a "lusty lion of the left." *Time* permitted readers a bit of diversion from ideology: "'To me lust is sacred,' he writes, 'sexual embraces nearer to a Holy Communion than a profane indulgence—a partaking, so to speak, of the blood and body of Nature.'" With just the right degree of wryness—"He partook generously"—*Time* launched into Eastman's sexual exploits—his "leaving his wife and child" and moving in with "a comely actress" for an affair in which "'heaven-shattering passion alternated with earth-shaking rage'"; of affairs with Russian women [who] cheered him up"—such as "Eliena Krylenko, the saucy secretary of Maxim Litvinov, [who] shared his bed and taught him Russian." After Eastman decided to leave Russia, he persuaded her to accompany him. To get a passport, however, "Eliena had to marry Eastman. It was against both their principles, but they went through with it."[41]

More important, to *Time* (seldom one to leave off titillating sexual escapades for social commentary), Eastman had written an important document. "The battles of the Red Decade have been forgotten," it said, but Eastman stood for more than his own experience. He was "prematurely anti-Communist. In time a whole generation of American radicals would repeat his disillusionment and break with the Communist Party." Testimony to Eastman's importance was the fact that his books, *Stalin's Russia and the Crisis in Socialism* and *Marxism: Is It Science?* remained "among the most damning analyses of Communism."[42]

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[40] "Still Caesarism," *Time*, October 27, 1961, p. 30. *Time* paid considerable attention to Djilas himself , "once a Tito favorite and Vice President of Yugoslavia, [who]. . .eventually convinced himself that Communism is the inevitable foe of revolutionary ideals. "I Grieve, Therefore I Am," *Time*, July 20, 1959, p. 102; see also, "Resilient Critics," *Time*, April 28, 1967, p. 35.

[41] "The Cheerful Radical," *Time*, January 8, 1965, p. 67.

Other writers who embraced, then rejected Communism were also cited. A review of *Writers on the Left*, published in 1962 noted that "some of the most eminent of U.S. writers"—the phrase that followed perfectly expressed *Time*'s opinion of such idiots—"and a great gaggle of lesser literary geese were more than half in love with Communism."[43] The author Daniel Aaron "spares the rod, excuses more than he accuses," *Time* complained. "Aaron's book. . .is a largely sympathetic study of a few [in] 'Communism's literary shock troops,' and their motives, Aaron observes, were by no means reprehensible." Still, *Time* could (and did) use the book as a springboard to depict "the choreography of a great troupe of American writers when they danced to Moscow's tune." But even foolish geese can learn, said *Time*, in effect. By 1949, the novelist Howard Fast mourned:

> "Where are the great ones of the Thirties, the whole school of talented progressive writers who arose out of the unemployed struggles led by the Communist Party?" It was a good question for by then Fast himself was the only good name left to dress up the Communist Party's sleazy cultural storefront. (Since then, Fast himself has repented, [and] issued his *mea culpa* in 1957.)[44]

As one of the laggard geese who took so long to awaken to the Red Peril, Fast came in for a goodly share of *Time*'s scorn. He was still getting it two decades after his conversion. A *Time* review of his novel, *The Immigrants*, paid almost as much attention to Fast's former status as "the U.S.'s best-known literary Communist" as to the merits of the novel. The article detailed his radical past and belated conversion:

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[42] Ibid., pp. 67-68. While Eastman's disenchantment with Communism came primarily as a result of the pact between Stalin and Hitler, *Time* intimated that it started as early as 1924, when "Eastman witnessed the humiliation of Trotsky by the Stalinists." Back in the United States, Eastman was ostracized by "his radical friends for writing a book criticizing Stalin. All through the 1920s and '30s he fought a lonely battle against Stalinism, while translating Trotsky's works into English. 'It saddens me now,' he says, 'to see how much of my life force was expended in ephemeral polemics with minds controlled by the Kremlin.'" Ibid. Eastman's books are cited in "Milestones," *Time*, April 4, 1969, p. 90.

[43] "The Fellows Who Traveled," *Time*, February 2, 1962, p. 64, 66. In that distinguished company, according to the magazine, were Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, and Clifford Odets.

[44] Ibid.

> As a political activist of the far left, he spent three months in jail during 1950 for failing to comply with a House Un-American Activities Committee subpoena. He was a columnist for the *Daily Worker*, a 1952 American Labor Party candidate for Congress, a 1953 winner of a Stalin Peace Prize, and the most popular American author in the U.S.S.R. "There is no nobler, no finer product of man's existence on this earth than the Communist Party," he said in 1949.
>
> In 1957, the year of Sputnik, Fast declared his disenchantment with Soviet Communist in a book called *The Naked God. It ensured his distinction as American letters' slowest study in Stalinism.*[45] [Emphasis added]

The black novelist Richard Wright was another of the literati featured in *Time*'s tales of conversion. Though published more than a decade apart, the thrust of the message was the same in both pieces (as, indeed, was the photograph of Wright that accompanied both reviews). In the 1963 version, American society, as Wright saw it, was an iron cage:

> There was no key; the cage must be smashed. Nothing less than revolutionary Communism would do. But the Communists betrayed Wright. . . .The time came when he saw that colored comrades would denounce a fellow Negro in the presence of white comrades. Wright abandoned the fight and fled to Paris with his white wife.[46]

Fourteen years later, the same theme took somewhat more elaborated form:

> In the 1930s Wright embraced the interracial promise of the Communist Party. With "eyes as round and open and wet as morning-glories," he made the first real emotional commitment of his life. But it was not, as they say, a two-way street. The party was interested in him only insofar as it could use him. He was promptly elected executive secretary of his unit because the faction supporting him figured that the opposition would not dare vote against a bona fide Negro. . . .Disregarding warning signals, he tried to interview party members for a series of articles explaining Communism to the Negro masses. Party suspicion became sulfurous. A comrade pointedly reminded him that intellectuals were frequently shot in the Soviet Union. Wright became certain that if his American comrades ever came to power, that would be his fate as well. "I began to feel an emotional isolation that I had not known in. . .the hate-ridden South.
>
> The book concludes with his recollection of an American version of the Moscow purge trials in which a friend of Wright's is charged with antiparty activity. Guilty of none of the charges, he tearfully confesses to them all. Wright violates party rules by walking out of the trial. During a May Day parade, he is pummeled out of the ranks by his white comrades while his black comrades look on approvingly.[47]

A number of brief items in the Milestones column recorded information about the lives and the deaths of the (usually) obscure apostates who had found their way on the the proper path after being seduced by Marxist doctrines. A Milestones item in 1965 about the marriage of the Hungarian-born author Arthur Koestler to his secretary was particularly striking. *Time* regarded it essential to mention that Koestler was "once a Communist, and [was] later a supreme critic [of Communism]"—a detail not customarily included in wedding notices.[48]

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[45] R. Z. Sheppard, "Reds to Riches," *Time*, November 7, 1977, pp. 120-121. Later, the reviewer did allow that "the old Marxist [Fast] reveals a genuine enthusiasm for the rugged values of laissez-faire enterprise." Ibid., p. 122.

[46] "Native Sons," *Time*, April 5, 1963, p. 106.

[47] Edwin Warner, "Escape to Loneliness," *Time*, May 30, 1977, p. 74.

RADICALS OF RACE AND RELIGION

Both race and religion figured in the conversion of Jimmy Karam, a clothing merchant in Little Rock, Arkansas. A lapsed Roman Catholic who "smoked, drank, and played the horses,. . . he tried to drag Christians down" by telling them: "'Let's get a couple of broads and go down to Hot Springs for the weekend.'" A bigot as well, Karam was a

> pal of Governor [Orval] Faubus, a segregationist leader of the 1957 riots at Central High School; during last fall's elections, he faked an inflammatory picture of a Negro family agitating for "equality. . . .But now invective ("lying bastards, gutless s.o.b.s") is gone from his lips. He holds court in his Main Street store, telling all comers that "only Jesus is important. If everybody could take Jesus to their hearts, there would be no problems in the world."[49]

Karam was converted as a result of a loving conspiracy of his 16-year-old daughter and an "reasonable, nonsegregationist" minister. The merchant "broke with his segregationist cronies" and gave up "smoking, drinking, and joyrides in Cadillacs." Only his refusal to say whether he remained a segregationist detracted from the satisfying completeness of the tale of a rakehell and bigot restored to the fold.[50]

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[48] "Milestones," *Time*, January 15, 1965, p. 88. Many of them had left the party after becoming disenchanted by the pact between Stalin and Hitler in 1939. Others became disillusioned after they or their loved ones suffered mistreatment, imprisonment, or execution. Other examples of such Milestones obituaries include the following. The author and journalist Freda Utley had belonged to the British Communist Party. "She moved to the Soviet Union in 1930 but grew disillusioned with Stalin's regime when her Soviet husband was exiled to Siberia, where he died in a concentration camp. Utley "emigrated to the U.S. in 1939,. . .and during the McCarthy hearings of 1950 testified about Communist influence on U.S. foreign policy in the Far East." February 6, 1978, p. 93. Kyle S. Crichton, "a sponsor of literary pink teas during the '30s, [whose] political sympathies were shattered by the Stalin-Hitler pact. December 5, 1960, p. 78; Elizabeth Turrill Bentley, "onetime Communist whose disclosures of wartime Soviet espionage led to the conviction of more than a dozen top Reds between 1948 and 1951." Bentley left the party, "calling Communism 'a kind of missionary complex, upside down." December 13, 1963, p. 94; Marc Blitzstein, a composer "who jolted even the class-conscious '30s with his pro-labor operetta, *The Cradle Will Rock* . . .[but] renounced Communism in 1949," January 31, 1964, p. 68; Bella Dodd, teacher and political activist, who was once "one of Communism's most strident U.S. voices. In 1949, she fell afoul of the party for departing from the Moscow line, and thereupon turned 180 degrees. She was a frequent and damaging informer during the McCarthy Senate hearings," May 9, 1969, p. 100; Bertram D. Wolfe, a "founder of the U.S. Communist Party in 1919 who later became a scholarly, vocal foe of Communism. . . In 1929 he traveled to Moscow for the Third Communist International, where he jousted verbally with Stalin, Trotsky, and Molotov. This temerity won him two months' detention; Wolfe's disillusionment with totalitarianism soon followed," March 7, 1977, p. 64; William S. Schlamm, "Polish-born writer and a former Communist who turned into a staunch conservative during the 1930s," October 2, 1978; and F. W. Dupee, literary critic and English professor "who worked as a Marxist labor organizer in the 1930s." He "helped recast as anti-Stalinist the *Partisan Review*, a radical literary magazine. "Eschewing his political extremism, he eventually achieved prominence" as a scholar and professor, February 5, 1979, p. 125.

[49] "Little Rock's Convert," *Time*, September 28, 1959, p. 42.

More complex was the conversion of George Wallace. Wallace emerged on the national scene when, at his inauguration of governor of Alabama in 1963, he pledged, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." Later that year, he made his farcical stand in the schoolhouse door, attempting to bar the registration of black students at the University of Alabama in defiance of a federal court order. Wallace used his domination of Alabama politics as the base from which to launch races for the presidential nomination, or the presidency itself on a third-party ticket, in 1964, 1968, and 1972. He was shot five times by an assassin at a political rally in Maryland during Wallace's 1972 campaign for the Democratic nomination and was permanently disabled. Nevertheless, Wallace continued to dominate Alabama politics for more than a decade, and ran again for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976.

Time's early portrayal of Wallace was dominated by the theme that he was a political opportunist (defeated in a 1958 race for governor, "Wallace learned a lesson. 'They just out-segged me,' he said to friends. 'They're never going to do that again.'"). He staged confrontations with federal authority that he knew he would lose. As a result, "in the wake of his retreats he has left passions that could lead only to such sickening crimes" as the murder of four black girls in the bombing of a black church in Birmingham in 1963. Even fervent segregationists, *Time* said, "accuse him of bringing about the bombing almost as surely as if he himself had planted the dynamite sticks."[51]

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[50] Ibid. *Time*'s closing statement allowed for the possibility of a sham conversion . "Summed up one Little Rock reporter: 'Many church people are convinced that it's the greatest conversion since Paul of Tarsus. Others still see Jimmy Karam under the sheep's clothing.'" Ibid. The tone of the article made that possibility remote indeed. Three years later, for example,*Time* reported the seeming conversion of the segregationist Governor Faubus:

> Gone was the fiery segregationist fervor that only five years ago spread his name through the world as the villain of Little Rock. Gone were his sarcastic references to "outsiders," to federal troops, to the Supreme Court, to the monstrous, power-grabbing U.S. Government. No longer did he hold up segregation literature and talk about the evils of integration; he scarcely mentioned integration at all. In fact, hard as it was to believe, Orval Faubus was under heavy fire from segregationists who felt that he had deserved their cause.

Time portrayed Faubus as an opportunist who sensed the shift in the political winds and followed it. He "shrewdly decided to chuck segregation as a dead issue, concentrate instead on. . .topics that now appeal more than segregation in a state that is anxious to improve its long-shoddy image in the nation's eyes." See "Toothless Tiger," *Time*, July 27, 1962, p. 15.

[51] "Where the Stars Fall," *Time*, September 27, 1963, pp. 17, 19, 20. Wallace's racist remark has been

Nor did *Time* carry a brief for Wallace when he invaded the North. It did denounce a mob—acting with "all the venom of a Southern mob barring a school door to a Negro child"—that denied Wallace an opportunity to speak at Dartmouth College in 1967. The incident, *Time* reported, "besides violating his right to be heard and that of others to listen, only played into his hands by gaining him far more attention than his stock speech could have attracted." And *Time* worried about what Wallace might do to retard racial progress in the South:

> In both parties there have been some encouraging signs of moderation of modernization, but the turmoil that Wallace is capable of fomenting could destroy this progress. The self-described "spoiler" could also delay the Southern Negro's entry into mainstream politics. By 1968, Negro voter registration in the eleven states of the old Confederacy may exceed 3,250,000, more than double the 1960 figure. . . . A third-party bid [by Wallace] could keep many Southern Negroes at home on Election Day by stimulating K.K.K.-type intimidation, or encourage them to vote for extremist black parties.[52]

The attempted assassination of Wallace by Arthur Bremer in the 1972 campaign led to the claim that Wallace had been "endowed with a new kind of stature. Although his doctors gave him only a marginal chance of walking again, editorial writers were quick to recall that F.D.R. campaigned with his legs paralyzed." The reportage emphasized his gritty courage: "Though ashen from shock and loss of blood,. . .Wallace spent much of the time consoling his terrified wife Cornelia."[53] The day after being shot,

> Like Tom Sawyer at his own funeral, Alabama's George Corley Wallace could savor both obsequies and survival. . . .Wallace, half-paralyzed, could lie in his hospital bed and feistily ask an aide: Whatja [sic] got me scheduled for today?" The next day he would read the news of his primary triumphs in Maryland and Michigan.[54]

Next issue, an appealing bit of badinage appeared. Wallace told reporters: "'Sorry it had to end

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rendered more often by journals (including *Time*) as "'I'll never be out-niggered again.'" On confrontation with federal authority, see , e.g., "Budding Confrontation," *Time*, April 7, 1967, pp. 20-21, and "Interpreter in the Front Line," *Time*, May 12, 1967, pp. 72-78, the latter a cover story about U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson, who had a number of legal confrontations with Wallace.

[52] See, respectively, "Enmity in the North," p. 20, and Enigma in the South," pp. 20-21, both in the May 12, 1967, issue of *Time*.

[53] "George Wallace's Appointment in Laurel," *Time*, May 29, 1972, pp. 18, 19. *Time* did criticize Wallace for deliberately arousing passions and for deliberately choosing "race hatred as his theme." It also rebuked blacks who greeted the news "with satisfaction or even a bitter glee." The majority of blacks, "remembering the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., simply deplored more violence." Ibid., pp. 18, 20. *Time* praised Mrs. Wallace for her courage, charm, and toughness. See "Cornelia: Determined to 'Make Do,'" May 29, 1972, pp. 20-21.

[54] Ibid., p. 18.

this way. . . .There won't be any more speeches for you fellows.' His wife Cornelia. . .pucked back: 'That's all right George. They're all the same anyway. Everybody knows the punch line.'"[55]

Thereafter, with few exceptions, Wallace rose in *Time*'s regard. A year after the shooting, the magazine reported the conversion. He had "shed his strident segregationist politics." As evidence, there was the fact that Senator Edward Kennedy had already paid one call on him and planned to do another; previously, he had exchanged "little more than epithets with the Kennedys." Two months later, a before-and-after lead pointed deftly to a change underway. *Time* started with an observation by Edward Kennedy in 1968: "My brothers believed in the dignity of man. How can those who stood with them support a man [Wallace] whose agents used cattle prods and dogs against human beings in Alabama." In 1973, however, Kennedy delivered a speech at a ceremony honoring Wallace with a patriotism award. "The sight of Wallace and Kennedy sharing a. . .platform. . .gave the bitterly divided Democratic Party at least a momentary illusion of unity not seen since the early Lyndon Johnson era." Political necessity brought the two men together, *Time* reported, but it found nothing wrong with that—or the "growing spirit of pragmatic cooperation" between Wallace and blacks in Alabama. A.J. Cooper, Jr., chairman of the Alabama Conference of Black Mayors, summed up the point: "'Whether the Governor likes it or not, black people in Alabama are a political force to be reckoned with. And whether we like it or not, the Governor is a political force in this state and the nation.' The last proposition is one with which Edward Kennedy clearly agrees." So did *Time* .[56]

In October, a more idealistic tone was struck: "something. . .wondrous" had happened. For the first time, a black governor, Melvin H. Evans of the Virgin Islands, had been named chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference. No less remarkable,

> "Evans accepted the gavel that was graciously offered by the outgoing chairman, George Wallace, who would have once barred him from any white school in Point Clear, Alabama, . . . where this year's conference was held. As the two men warmly shook hands, Evans said: "The completely routine manner in which this historic event took place is indicative of a basic understanding and acceptance of principles which may have been in doubt in the past."[57]

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[55] "Bremer's Odyssey," *Time*, June 5, 1972, p. 12.

[56] "Wallace's Tortured Comeback," *Time*, May 14, 1973, p. 37. The story also paid tribute to his courage. His comeback "has been a long, tortured trip back. A few months ago friends and enemies alike had all but buried him politically." Now, however, he stood before the Alabama legislature delivering a speech, the real message of which was that Wallace "was ready for action physically and politically." Ibid. On Kennedy and Wallace at the ceremony honoring Wallace, see "George and Teddy Harmonize," *Time*, July 16, 1973, p. 21.

[57] "New Chairman in Dixie," *Time*, October 8, 1973, p. 14.

That theme of conversion appeared in subsequent stories. Wallace had been "seemingly giving up his militant segregationism and many of his long-time redneck associates," and he had been courting the "rising black vote in Alabama," crowning the black homecoming queen at the University of Alabama, and receiving a standing ovation at the Southern Conference of Black Mayors in Tuskegee. Indeed, "Wallace. . .is expected to win at least half the black ballots—an astounding turnabout for the man who in another era stood in the school doorway in Tuscaloosa to keep black students from entering."[58]

A decade later, Wallace announced that he would not run again for Governor of Alabama (He had held office four times; his first wife Lurleen, died in office while serving another term as a surrogate for her husband.) A *Time* writer took note of the "opportunist and the demagogue" in Wallace as he led a "revolt against the elite and the chic and the powerful" with a "dismissive snarl." Was he an opportunist now— or was his conversion genuine? The question was raised in the context of Wallace's making "his peace with Alabama blacks." The answer was at once equivocal and certain. Now "an extinct volcano,"

> George Wallace ended his journey in the vicinity of redemption. It was a strange and moving American spectacle to see Wallace a few weeks ago receive an honorary degree from Tuskegee Institute, the blacks in the audience applauding him with a forgiving warmth. Wounded, in his wheelchair, subdued and sweet, he blew them kisses.[59]

Time did more than simply reflect the conversion of Wallace. Its favorable coverage of Wallace started *before*, not *after* he was shot—part of the reason being that Wallace had gathered an unexpectedly large share of votes in Democratic primaries outside the South. More important was that those votes reflected Wallace's appeal "to the restive mood of 'the little man.' Although he campaigned for only eight days in Wisconsin, Wallace came in second, with 22 percent of the vote"—close to frontrunner George McGovern's 30 percent. Both McGovern and Wallace tapped into bitter resentment against tax loopholes.[60] Bemourning the pernicious influence of image-makers on presidential campaigning, *Time* found a ray of hope in Wallace. "No pointy-headed media consultant tells him what to do." Wallace's TV commercials come from film shot at rallies or in a studio, but "little is staged in advance. . . .That is all there is to it—Wallace in the rough, take it or leave it."[61]

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[58] "Wallace: Gearing Up Again,"*Time*, March 25, 1974, p. 23. See also, "Politics' High Price," *Time*, May 20, 1974, p. 35 (Wallace received "surprisingly strong support from blacks, whom he seriously courted for the first time in his political career.")

[59] Lance Morrow, "Twilight of the Firebrand," *Time*, April 14, 1986, p. 31.

[60] See "A Message of Discontent from Wisconsin," *Time*, April 17, 1972, p. 17, and "It Just No Longer Adds Up," *Time*, April 24, 1972, p. 11.

The new Wallace was a theme that recurred in the magazine between his wounding in 1972 and his retirement from politics in 1986. Thus, *Time* selected stories about Wallace—and emphasized within them the theme of conversion and contrition. In 1975, *Time* reported that the "'new' Wallace. . .has erased racial invective from his rhetoric. . .[and] now goes out of his way these days to profess his regard for blacks and all other groups"; indeed, he had even appointed a few blacks to his state administration (the top one is coordinator of highway and traffic safety), and last month he welcomed the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., to Montgomery." In 1976, *Time* wrote of the crowning of a black homecoming queen at the University of Alabama by Wallace, who later "told a black mayors' meeting in Tuskegee: 'We're all God's children. All God's children are equal.'"). According to another story in 1976, Wallace had "moved closer to the mainstream; he is careful, for example, not to let his attack on busing be misconstrued as criticism of blacks. He claims sensible people of both races agree with his stand." In 1982, an article bore the headline from the anthem of the civil rights movement: "George Wallace Overcomes: Running for Governor with New Black Friends." "But mostly his message is one of populist conciliation," according to *Time*. "Wallace is a born-again Christian. He appeared before the assembled blacks of the Southern Leadership Conference in Birmingham last summer and apologized for his old segregationist politics."[62]

What accounts for the persistence of this theme? Perhaps the answer is to be found in the statement that it was a "strange and moving *American* spectacle"—an illustration of the possibilities of America, to move toward that state of perfection *Time* founder Henry Luce believed America would achieve. Wallace, once the "international symbol of the demagogic segregationist," had repented—powerful proof of the rightness of the system that stripped radicals, at either extreme, of their power, then symbolically restored them to the fold.

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[61] "Out, Damned Spot!" *Time*, April 24, 1972, pp. 13-14.

[62] See, respectively, "And Then There Were Ten," *Time*, November 24, 1975, p. 41; "Turning on the Charm in Europe," *Time*, October 27, 1975, pp. 14-15 ; "Out of a Cocoon," *Time*, September 27, 1976, p. 42 ; "Wallace: Chickens Home to Roost," *Time*, February 9, 1976, p. 22; Lance Morrow, "George Wallace Overcomes: Running for Governor with New Black Friends," *Time*, October 11, 1982, p. 15.

Eldridge Cleaver, probably best known as the author of *Soul on Ice,* a radical jeremiad issued in the 1960s, was the former information minister of the radical Black Panthers. Cleaver fled to escape prosecution; after seven years abroad, he returned to the United States. His religious conversion was announced later.

Time published a number of stories (mostly brief People section items) about Cleaver before and during his years in exile in Cuba, Algeria, and France. There were few references to *Soul on Ice,* the principal source of his fame, or to him as a writer. (He was once identified, however, as "Rapist Eldridge Cleaver.")[63] The dominant theme was that Cleaver was a dangerous revolutionary who consorted with his country's Communist enemies. One *Time* article cited television journalist Mike Wallace's interview during which "Cleaver openly admitted that his 'goal is to take Senator McClellan's head,' and 'that would mean shooting my way in and shooting my way out' of the Senate. Cleaver denied that his statement was simply rhetoric.[64] A year later, Cleaver and the revolutionary Che Guevara were depicted as brothers-in-arms. Cleaver had "read out of the movement" drug-users and other hangers-on. "What Eldridge wants are 'sober, stone-cold revolutionaries, motivated by revolutionary love—men and women who fit the description given by Che Guevara: "'Cool, calculating killing machines to be turned against the enemy."'" There was almost a man-without-a-country tone to Cleaver's jeremiad. "The countries that I like best don't have diplomatic relations with the U.S.'"[65] Even when Cleaver turned to making a dollar, *Time* made it clear that he was wild-eyed:

> "**Eldridge Cleaver** seeking legitimate business associates to finance and organize marketing of his revolutionary design in male pants," read the advertisement in the *International Herald Tribune.* Had the fugitive Black Panther decided to go straight? Hardly. The distinguishing feature of Cleaver's new pants turned out to be an enormous, codpiece-like set of external genitalia. "I want to solve the problem of the fig-leaf mentality," explained Cleaver, who now lives in the Latin Quarter of Paris after spending four years in Algeria. "Clothing is an extension of the fig leaf; it puts our sex inside our bodies. My pants put sex back where it should be."[66]

Cleaver's first conversion was recorded by *Time* when he returned to the United States at the end of 1975. What better way of illustrating the conversion than to point out that his old radical allies had turned their backs on Cleaver: "The Congress of Racial Equality wished him 'a lengthy stay in jail'; his old Black Panther comrades ignored him altogether. Such was the cold welcome" that Cleaver got when he returned to his country "after seven years of self-exile. . . ." Cleaver testified to "'a more balanced picture of what's going on in the world'" achieved because of years spent living under dictatorships in Cuba and Algeria. In his own country, he found "'a new situation. Black people have undergone a fundamental change for the better.'" And there was another change—in him. *Time* had no need to say that he had grown up; Cleaver said as much himself: "'I've got two kids, I'm almost bald. I've got gray hair, and my political ideas have become refined.'"[67]

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[63] "People," *Time*, October 29, 1973, p. 87.

[64] "The Mellowing of Mike Wallace," *Time*, January 19, 1970, p. 57.

[65] See, respectively, "People," *Time*, February 15, 1971, p. 40, and People," *Time*, July 23, 1973, p. 49.

[66] "People," *Time*, August 25, 1975, p. 33.

His religious conversion—as presented by *Time*, it had political implications as well—was announced about 15 months later. The peg for the story was that Cleaver had been selected by the Texas Baptist convention to offer testimony in "God Spots" (television and radio commercials) about his conversion to Christ. His past was unsavory: Cleaver was a "confessed rapist and ex-Black Panther who is still facing a murder rap for his part in a 1968 shootout." His ideological conversion impressed *Time* as much or more than his religious conversion. "As a fugitive, Cleaver lost faith in Communism, he explains before the cameras in his 30-second TV spot. 'Then I met a different kind of revolutionary—Jesus Christ. Can He be trusted to untangle a messed-up life? I'm living proof of it.'" Five months later, the message was salted with wry humor. Cleaver had befriended Charles Colson, a former White House aide who had served seven months in jail for his participation in the Watergate scandal. Colson and Cleaver, who had undergone "recent conversions to Christianity," were appearing together in various religious forums. Colson said of their friendship: "'We're like Matthew the tax collector and Simon the Zealot, two unlikely people who came together loving one another.'" His new friend agreed. "Jokes Cleaver: 'He's [Colson] the kind of man I used to put on my dart board.'" Four months after that item was published, Cleaver and Colson appeared, as "Reformed Sinners," in a *Time* cover story about evangelical religion. Additionally, the magazine reported that Cleaver was the author of a book in which he "testifies that after years spent as a prisoner of Marxism and hate, he finally found peace when he saw the face of Jesus in the full moon over Cannes. Cleaver was later converted by a prison 'God Squad.'"[68]

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[67] "People," *Time*, December 1, 1975, p. 48. *Time* reported that Cleaver was immediately arrested by FBI agents and flown to San Diego to answer charges of parole violation and assault with intent to commit murder as a result of a shootout with police in Oakland, California in 1968.

Founded in 1930, the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in the West was known popularly as the Black Muslims. Its founder, identified, variously, as W. D. Fard, W. D. Farad Muhammad, and so on, was believed by his followers to be a prophet of Allah, but he later came to be regarded by the sect as Allah in human form. After Fard's disappearance in 1933, the leadership passed to Elijah Muhammad, who took the title, the Messenger of Allah. Separation was the solution to the race problem, as seen by Black Muslims; blacks would secure several states for settlement and the eventual establishment of a black republic; alternatively, they would lead a return to Africa. The Muslims repudiated mainstream leaders and institutions, black as well as white, religious as well as secular. Nevertheless, the Muslims were not reluctant to use government agencies to secure their rights or to advance their interests. While fierce in rhetoric (damning whites, for instance, as devils), the Muslims eschewed violence as a "matter of religious belief, although they believe in self-defense."[69] The Muslims were a law-abiding and quiet-living lot who attracted little attention until the late 1950's.[70]

The enduring tone of *Time*'s coverage of the Nation of Islam can be seen in its first article. The sect's enemies were a gauge of its depravity: "the U.S.'s 100,000 true Moslems," who were outraged by a brand of racism that perverted Islam's "centuries-old stand against racial discrimination"; the "respectable Negro civic leaders"; black organizations that were fearful that the Muslims would be attractive to "the man in the street who's getting his teeth kicked out"; and police officials, who, despite the fact that Muslims "have been strictly law-abiding," worried ominously in public that the situation was "'getting worse every day.'" Muhammad was delegitimated by *Time* as a "scowling, incendiary speaker," who was a "purveyor of this cold black hatred"; a practitioner of "virulent anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism." His criminality was illustrated by offenses particularly heinous at the time, contributing to the delinquency of a minor and dodging the draft during World War II. *Time* added an extra sting, claiming that Muhammad was hiding like a coward in his mother's home, where FBI agents found "him rolled up in a carpet under her bed."[71]

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[68] See, respectively, "People," *Time*, March 28, 1977, p. 67; "People," *Time*, August 22, 1977, p. 52; and "Back to that Oldtime Religion," *Time*, December 26, 1977, pp. 54, 55, 56.

[69] On the demand for separate states or a return to Africa, see E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 259-262, 288, 288, n. 72. On the repudiation of American society and its values, see C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America*, rev. edit. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), pp. xxviii-xxix. On the secular and religious antecedents of the Muslims and the mysterious Fard, see Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism*, pp. 33-45, *passim*. See also, Clifton E. Marsh, *From Black Muslims to Muslims: The Transition from Separatism to Islam, 1930-1980* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1984), pp. 41-49. In 1961, more than 100 lawsuits were filed (most of them by Black Muslims) to force prison officials not to interfere with Islamic observances. New York *Times*, March 19, 1961, pp. 1, 46.

[70] C. Eric Lincoln, *My Face Is Black* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 87.

By 1975, the Nation of Islam, as well as Muhammad, had changed. Now, it seemed, "Muhammad had mellowed in recent years," and had become as much "captain of industry as Messenger of Allah." As evidence of the new-found respectability, *Time* cited these tributes to Elijah Muhammad at his death:

> Proclaimed Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley: "Under his leadership, the Nation of Islam has been a consistent contributor to the social well-being of our city for more than forty years." A *New York Times* editorial noted his movement's success "in rehabilitating and inspiring thousands of once defeated and despairing men and women."[72]

Naturally, *Time* missed no opportunity to establish the strangeness of the sect, noting, for example, that it once invited, "in an insanely logical moment," the American Nazi leader, George Lincoln Rockwell to a meeting "and heard him laud Elijah Muhammad as the 'Adolf Hitler of the black man.'" The magazine also hastened to establish that the Nation's racist doctrines ran counter to the tenets and practices of "Islam's racial tolerance."[73] Nevertheless, these details from the history of the Muslims were useful to establish that the sect had passed from savagery to respectability. Indeed, *Time* disposed of the most grave accusation directed against the Black Muslims: "Though many killings have been blamed on the movement, Muhammad advocated nonviolence except for self-defense."[74]

The true conversion of the sect came not with Muhammad, however, but with his son, Wallace D. Muhammad. *Time*'s before-and-after lead made as much clear. " Since its birth during the Depression, the Nation of Islam, . . .has preached that whites were 'devils' and 'human beasts.' Not any longer: from now on whites will be considered fully human. . .[as the sect's] race-hatred theme is being shelved." Even whites will be permitted to become Black

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[71] "The Black Supremacists," *Time*, August 10, 1959, p. 25. *Time* also rebuked, with cutting phrases, black newspapers and politicians who curried favor with the Muslims.

[72] "The Messenger Passes," *Time*, March 10, 1975, p. 83.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid. One murder was the shooting of Malcolm X in 1965 by men with ties to the Muslims.

Muslims. "No rush of recruits is expected," *Time* quipped."[75]

Two years later, the sect had become no more objectionable than any other American sect. *Time* reported approvingly the steps taken by the new leader, Elijah Muhammad's son, Wallace Muhammad. First, he had stripped his late father of his title, "Messenger of Allah." Then, Wallace Muhammad returned "to orthodox belief in Allah"; he abolished his father's doctrine of separatism, which violated that orthodoxy, and he opened the sect to membership by worshippers of any color, proclaiming: "'We know there is no superiority in any color'"; he abolished the security forces, the Fruit of Islam; finally, he changed the name from Nation of Islam to the World Community of Islam in the West or Bilalians, in honor of Bilai, Mohammad's first black disciple. Another sign of *Time*'s approval was the spin it gave to the fact that Wallace Muhammad secured substantial aid from Arab nations, including 16 million dollars for a mosque in Chicago. Wallace Muhammad was acquitted of any unseemly financial interest. *Time* maintained that he "shuns his father's luxurious estate near the University of Chicago. He prefers to live in a modest brick bungalow not far from his mosque."[76]

One of *Time*'s most powerful tales of conversion was that of Nebraska "Grand Dragon Larry Trapp." Trapp said that he "did more than my share of work because I wanted to build up the state of Nebraska into a state as hateful as North Carolina and Florida. I spent a lot of money and went out of my way to instill fear."[77] He sought to do so with Jewish clergyman Michael Weisser, but Weisser did not return hate for hate. Weisser talked with Trapp on the telephone, at first leaving messages such as this:

> "Larry, you'd better think about all this hatred you're doing, that you are involved in, because you're going to have to deal with God one day, and it's not going to be easy." Larry is disabled, and another time I called, I said, "Larry, the very first laws that the Nazis passed were against people like yourself, who have physical disabilities, and you would have been among those to die under the Nazis."[78]

Eventually, it worked. Trapp realized that there was no honor among bigots and racists. "The Klan pulls a lot of scams on a lot of people, even their own. . . .Not one Klansman or one

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[75] "White Muslims," *Time*, June 30, 1975, p. 52.

[76] "Conversion of the Muslims," *Time*, March 14, 1977, p. 59. Further establishing Wallace Muhammad's credentials, Time pointed out that he had questioned the most central tenet of the sect, the divinity of W.D. Fard and had twice been expelled for heresy by his father.

[77] Daniel S. Levy, "The Cantor and the Klansman," *Time*, February 17, 1992, p. 14.

[78] Ibid.

Nazi can really say he actually trusts the other. It's constant conflict."[79] The *Time* reporter called on Trapp, in effect, to come forward and renounce his former bigotry.

> **Q. Mr. Trapp, have you now completely renounced the Klan and the Nazi Party?**
> **Trapp:** I denounce everything they stand for. But it's not the people in the organizations that I hate. I hate what they stand for and what they do. If I were to say I hate all Klansmen because they're Klansmen and all Nazis because they're Nazis, I would still be a racist. I was one of the most hard-case white activists in the U.S. *If I can have that change of mind or change of heart, anybody can.* [Emphasis added][80]

Lending poignancy was what a doctor told Trapp: He had "six months to a year to live." Trapp said that he would spend the time trying to change the minds of border-line and hard-core racists. "Trapp: I think I was meant to be a Klansman, meant to be a Nazi, meant to do the various things I've done so I could learn that they weren't right, so that maybe, out of my experience, I can help other people change their way of thinking." Equally poignant was Trapp's response to a question about "any interest" he might have in converting to Judaism. Trapp, born a Roman Catholic, responded: "'That's my goal. I think the Jewish religion saved me. The only thing that'll keep me from converting is if there's not enough time.'"[81]

RADICALS OF THE SIXTIES

For more than a decade, from the earlier 1970s to the late 1980s, *Time* carried stories about former radicals whose conversions demonstrated the greatness of the American system. These radicals included revolutionaries, especially those who used violence and who became fugitives while fleeing prosecution; celebrity radicals, whose activism had made them media figures during the 1960s and 1970s; and obscure radicals, unknown despite beliefs and actions that society regarded as deviant.

One tale of renunciation of radicalism featured Anthony Tankersley, who was convicted of the "terrorist bombing" of a high-tension electrical tower, then fled to Canada. After turning himself in, he started serving a one- to five-year sentence in a California prison. In his cell he talked to a *Time* reporter about "the making and unmaking of a violent revolutionary." Brutality perpetrated against demonstrators started him down the path to becoming "'a violent revolutionary.'" However, the revolutionary subculture blinded him to moral and ethical questions objections violence. Only as a fugitive did he find the freedom to think for himself:

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[79] Ibid. His observation was set in large bold type beside a photograph of Trapp and Weisser

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid., B2.

> "I was far enough away from the movement to reflect on my own actions without interruption. Nobody was there to remind me whom I could talk to and whom I couldn't. I drew on liberal ideals and conservative ideas and found that I didn't know everything. I had had been wasting all of my energy figuring out how to destroy, when I could have been getting something good and tangible accomplished.
>
> After months came an abrupt turn away from violence. "I began seeing the hypocrisy throughout the entire radical scene. I saw the same people who said they were fighting for a humane society accept violence without question. Radicals have accomplished the impossible: they have successfully separated the concept of violence from the idea of hurting people. . . Death and blood are no longer words that convey human suffering; they are potential political battle cries. Had I kept going, I am sure I would have killed somebody."[82]

The perfect closing for "The Recantations of a Reformed Berkeley Bomber" was supplied by Tankersley: "'I feel freer now in prison than I did when I was a radical.'"[83]

A not-too-dissimilar note was struck when *Time* reported the surrender of another fugitive, "former political revolutionary Jane Alpert." She had been on the run for more than four years after being convicted of "conspiring to bomb Manhattan's buildings as part of the extreme left's anti-Establishment, anti-corporation, antiwar crusade." Her return from the underground was, said Alpert as "'the happiest day of my life.'"[84]

An extensive (and generally sympathetic) article detailed the conversion of "a troubled romantic and a political naïf." Her disillusionment started with broken promises. Members of the radical Weather Underground that "encouraged her to jump bail and promised protection turned out to be fair-weather friends." She got most of her help from "kindly, middle-aged, middle-class couples who asked no questions." Something dawned on her during her peregrinations across the Southwest: "'the bedrock conservatism' of the American people. 'As I traveled, I slowly became aware that nothing was less relevant to the lives of most people in this country than the white left.'" She became a "gold star widow of the left" after her lover, Sam Melville, imprisoned after being caught planting dynamite at an armory, was killed during the Attica prison uprising in 1971.

Alpert's salvation was a new, eminently more respectable cause; a "woman's consciousness-raising group. . .helped channel her interests from a dying political revolution to a rising feminist one." She realized that the radical movement was male-dominated and sexist. Where once she had gently chided Melville for sexism, she issued, to *Ms.* magazine in 1973, a "long rambling feminist manifesto that said of the Attica dead, including her former lover: 'I will mourn the loss of 42 male supremacists no longer.'" Later, she renounced leftist ideas as 'not particularly relevant to what's going on today' and. . .'basically destructive to women'. . . .As a radical feminist of the '70s, she seeks 'an identity not with other people's oppression, but with my own, first and foremost.'"[85]

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[82] "The Recantations of a Reformed Berkeley Bomber," *Time*, February 22, 1971, pp. 12-13.

[83] Ibid., p. 13.

[84] "In from the Cold," *Time*, November 25, 1974, p. 12.

Mark Rudd, described by *Time* as "a single-minded revolutionary, [and] one of the most notorious of the young radicals of the '60s, had encountered Alpert while both were fugitives. Three years after Alpert surrendered to authorities, Rudd turned himself in. Todd Gitlin's analysis of television coverage of Rudd's surrender—"the sturdy meta-father Walter Cronkite chuckles approvingly as he reports that Mark's father thinks the age of thirty is "too old to be a revolutionary"—was a tolerably close fit for *Time*'s reportage.[86] *Time* observed:

> Although Rudd provided no explanation for his surrender, it clearly was time for him to come in from the cold. The war that he had opposed ended two years ago without setting off the revolution he had expected. His father, Jacob Rudd, a former Army officer who sells real establish. . .and had not seen his son for seven years, speculated about Mark's motives: 'He's 30 years old. You get too old to be a revolutionary.'"[87]

As Gitlin observed: "Rudd's actual motives. . .were mostly beside the point."[88] *Time* was casting a character to fit an ideological role.

Not all ex-radicals slipped neatly into assigned ideological roles. One who didn't was Cathlyn Wilkerson, who turned over her wealthy father's home in Greenwich Village to radicals, "who apparently began making bombs in the basement. A series of dynamite blasts not only demolished the house, but also killed three Weathermen in 1970." Wilkerson fled to escape prosecution on charges of illegal possession of dynamite and criminally negligent homicide. She was a fugitive for 10 years. An unrepentant Wilkerson surrendered to authorities ("'for personal reasons'") in Manhattan in 1980.[89] Her refusal to recant or to express contrition drew the wrath of *Time*. Mindless in her devotion to a lost cause, she was

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[85] "Underground Odyssey," *Time*, January 27, 1975, pp. 63-64.

[86] Gitlin, *Whole World Is Watching*, pp. 4-5.

[87] "Aging Radical Comes Home," *Time*, September 26, 1977, p. 25.

[88] Gitlin, *Whole World Is Watching*, p. 152.

> spiritually akin to the Japanese soldiers who stumbled out of Pacific jungles 20 years after the end of World War II, still vowing to win for the Emperor. . . .
>
> She fumed against U.S. involvement in Viet Nam, as if the war had not ended five years ago. She applauded "fighters for freedom and independence for Puerto Rico," though they have little following even on their own island. She maintained that "the conditions are the same" in the nation as when she disappeared.[90]

This was *Time*'s cruelest cut: She represented no greater threat than did those aging Japanese soldiers; "federal authorities had stopped looking for her. The FBI years ago removed the remaining Weatherman fugitives from its most-wanted list and ceased active searcing for most of them because *they seemed more irrelevant than dangerous*."[91] [Emphasis added]

Correct or not about the irrelevancy of Wilkerson and other of her ilk, undeniably *Time* had lavished more than a half-page on debunking a forgotten radical as mindless and irrelevant—an indication that it took seriously this business of conversion and recantation.

An additional sign: Three months earlier, *Time* had expended almost three times as much space on the recantation of a Seattle radical who lacked Wilkerson's prominence, within or without the radical movement. The article opened with a today-and-yesterday lead:

> The suit is a conservative gray tweed, the tie quiet and reassuring. So are his soft-spoken musings,. . . "America is in good shape," he offers soothingly. "America is not ideologically racist. Americans are willing to give people a fair shake." He could be a small businessman decompressing amiably between a week's rash of orders and the idyl of a suburban weekend.
>
> But he is not. He is Charles C. Marshall III, 35,. . .former member of the national committee of Students for a Democratic Society, leading figure of the Seattle Liberation Front,. . .and a key defendant in the 1970 "Seattle Eight" conspiracy trial.[92]

Marshall started his activism when, as a teen-ager, he was taken by his father, a liberal intellectual, to the 1963 March on Washington. Marshall took part in the civil rights movement, then started a "gradual evolution into anti-war radicalism." Within five years, he became one of the most experienced American student organizers. "'My career 10 years ago,'" he recalled, "'was the perfect case of the outside agitator.'" Along with his "smash-the-state buddies," Marshall engaged in a peculiarly

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[89] "Past Defended," *Time*, July 21, 1980, p. 27.

[90] Ibid. Carrying forward this theme, *Time*'s story concluded: "The Weatherman faction took its name from a line in a Bob Dylan song: 'You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows.' Cathy Wilkerson seemed oblivious last week to the lesson of another Dylan song: 'The times they are a-changin'.'" Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] David Aikman, "In Seattle: Up from Revolution," *Time*, April 14, 1980, p. 14.

> American form of modern revolutionism for several months. By day, they haranged students at Seattle's high school and college campuses on the war, racism, and capitalism. By night they caroused into the early hours in a blurry continuum of beer, pot, sex, and leftist war cries. But the frenetic "mobilizing" and hedonism was itself a clue to Marshall's own eventual disillusionment with radicalism. . . .He says now, "The cultural thing really freaked me: destroy the family, destroy monogamy. They wanted to destroy the specialness of all personal relationships. I knew [the radicals] Mark (Rudd) and Bernardine (Dohrn). I saw them go over the edge."[93]

He learn a great deal while serving time for contempt of court: "'Prison shook a lot of my preconceptions. I met some characters in prison who were just plain bad.'" (He also learned, presumably, was that sometimes it's best to shut up. He and his fellow defendants "would have gone free had they not provoked the elderly judge with catcalls during the proceedings. At one point, two of them presented him with a Nazi flag.")[94]

Marshall renounced radicalism as a youthful indiscretion; "'I think a lot of it was puberty.'" He had flirted with Marxism, but so had others. And today "Marshall backpedals hard from all this. 'I did read Marx, but I was never really anti-American,' he says, a trifle defensively. 'I never thought America was fascist.'" Evidence of the sincerity of his conversion came from the scorn of his former friends. Joe Kelly, 34, one of his closest comrades from the old days, "is almost bitter about Marshall's deradicalization. 'He talks like a politician,' says Kelly." Furthermore, Marshall lost a city council race "because of opposition from Seattle's still active radical community. He says uncertainly, 'I freaked the liberals out by getting the police to endorse me. I was too Machiavellian.'"[95]

One of the most "notorious" of the fugitives was Kathy Boudin, "a member of the violent Weather Underground. . .[and] daughter of prominent New York civil rights attorney Leonard Boudin." She had been a fugitive since 1970, when she fled from the Greenmwich Village bomb factory that was destroyed by an explosion. Along with six other "political extremists," she was arrested and charged after two police officers and a guard on an armored truck were shot to death during a robbery in New York in 1981.[96] In 1984, *Time*'s headline summed it up:

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., pp. 14, 16.

[96] Claudia Wallis, Peter Stoler, and James Wilde, "Bullets from the Underground," *Time*, November

"A RADICAL UNEXPECTEDLY RECANTS." The story said:

> Last week, in a dramatic change of heart, Boudin admitted her guilt and accepted a sentencing deal that will keep her in prison until at least the year 2001. . . .Appearing chastened but calm, Boudin told Judge David Ritter: "I feel terrible about the lives that were lost. I have led a life of commitment to political principles, and I think I can be true to those principles without engaging in violent acts."[97]

Jerry Rubin and Rennie Davis were celebrity radicals, members of the Chicago Seven, radical activists who were convicted of inciting riots at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago. (The convictions were later reversed.) *Time* pronounced (in an essay in 1977) "most startling" the conversion of Rennie Davis, who "now sells life insurance for John Hancock in Denver, wearing contact lenses and what looks like a blow-dry hairdo. He is living, he says, a sweet, useful life: *Brighten the Corner Where You Are*."[98]

Actually, the magazine had made the announcement several weeks earlier. It raised the question, "Once a radical always a radical?" and answered it: "Not, certainly, in the case of Rennie Davis." Davis, it seemed, had "hooked up with a teen-age guru called Maharaj Ji" after the conviction of Davis in the Chicago trial was overturned. "Now he is connected with an even more unlikely name: John Hancock. Yes, Davis is a trainee at the insurance company's Denver office. Says he of his new constituency: 'We have to get the business to the level where the cash flow is good so the business can operate as a beautiful family.' Far out." The message

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2, 1981, p. 24. Boudin and Cathlyn Wilkerson had "fled naked from the burning wreckage of the town house" owned by Wilkerson's father. Ibid.

[97] "Crime and Punishment: A Radical Unexpectedly Recants," *Time*, May 7, 1984, p. 27. For were other stories about radical fugitives who surfaced, either surrendering themselves or being arrested. One was Stephen Bingham, an attorney who was accused of murder and conspiracy after a gun was smuggled into San Quentin prison and was used by Bingham's client, George Jackson, in an escape attempt that resulted in the deaths of three guards, two prisoners, and Jackson. If acquitted, Bingham planned to join former colleagues "who now work in Oakland and specialize in pension-rights cases. 'They make a living,' he says of his friends. 'They're raising families. And they are doing good work.'" See Amy Wilentz and Paul A. Witteman, "Lawyer on Trial," *Time*, January 20, 1986, p. 24. Silas Trim Bissell, one of the founders of the Weather Underground, was arrested by FBI agents in 1987. He had been a fugitive since 1970, "when he skipped bail on charges of conspiring to bomb a Reserve Officer Training Center in Seattle." Though Bissell was silent, it appeared, from *Time*'s brief story, that some sort of conversion had already take. He was described by "friends and co-workers as a gentle, mild-mannered man who painted in his spare time. 'If he's guilty, he's going to have to pay the price,' said neighbor Dave Bartel. 'But I hope they take into account that he's not blowing up buildings anymore. The guy's been living quietly and responsibly for a long time." See "A Blast from the Past," *Time*, February 2, 1987, p. 33.

[98] Lance Morrow, "An Elegy for the New Left," *Time*, August 15, 1977, p. 67.

was driven home by an accompanying sketch. It depicted Davis as, literally, a square, with the briefcase, suit and tie of a solid citizen; his radical's weeds hung, discarded, on a hook.[99]

No less startling was the change in Rubin, who once advised: "'Kill your parents'" and "Don't trust anyone over 30.'" Now Rubin —like his parents' generation—was planning to get married. Moverover, "Ex-Yippie Jerry Rubin, 39, now lives in a sleep Manhattan high-rise, complete with uniformed doorman. 'We are not into sacrifice, martyrdom,' he has written."[100]

What he was into was making money. By mid-1980, *Time* recorded that he had become a $36,000-a-year securities analyst on Wall Street, regarded by his new boss as a useful addition because many people in the '60s "'have matured, and some of them want to invest. We can use somebody like him.'" Rubin's rhetoric had lost its radical edge.

> Today Rubin talks a line that would cheer his generation's fathers. Confides he: "Money is power. Information is power. One of the reasons that the rich become richer and the poor poorer in America is that the wealthy can afford the financial information suplied by lawyers and accountants."
>
> Expressing his conversion in words that would have been heartily applauded by delegates to the Republican National Convention in Detroit, he declares: "The challenge for American capitalism in the '80s is to bring back the entrepreneurial spirit. America needs a revitalization of the small-business spirit. Individual entrepreneurship can create the new work ethic that is so desperately needed. Let's make capitalism work for everybody."[101]

Others whose conversions were reported by *Time* were not celebrities, nor had the conversions been completed in all cases. A report in 1968 found seven graduates whose "common characteristics,. . .were idealism and 'cynicism about society's willingness to embrace their ideals.'" Three years later, it reinterviewed six of them, and found them starting to undergo changes in their attitudes.

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[99] "Power to the Premiums," *Time*, July 25, 1977, p. 30. In 1987, *Time* reported that "Davis runs a high-tech financing firm in Colorado." Guy D. Garcia, "People," *Time*, February 16, 1987, p. 67.

[100] See, respectively, "People," *Time*, September 19, 1977, p. 98, and Lance Morrow, "An Elegy for the New Left," *Time*, August 15, 1977, p. 67. *Time* recorded the marriage of the "Yippie radical. . ., who mellowed after dabbling in a long succession of New Consciousness therapies of the '70s" to Mimi Leonard, "a New York socialite," in "Milestones," May 8, 1978, p. 82. Later in the year, it poked fun at Rubin, "the reformed Yippie who has decided at 40 that his calling is consciousness." See Frank Trippett, "In New York: Much Ado About 'It,'" *Time*, December 4, 1978, p. 4.

[101] "Rubin Relents: Now He Promotes Capitalism," *Time*, August 11, 1980, p. 23. The before-and-after contrast was strengthened by a photograph of Rubin holding aloft a rifle in 1968, contraposed to one of "the Wall Streeter today"— neatly dressed in suit and tie. Thereafter, Rubin was mentioned as "a former Wall Street stockbroker, [who] now runs seminars for business people." E. Graydon Carter, "People," *Time*, July 12, 1982, p. 51. He was identified as an entrepreneur who was "getting ready to open a restaurant in New York City." Guy D. Garcia, "People," *Time*, February 16, 1987, p. 67. In 1988, *Time* once again identified Rubin as a Wall Streeter, when reporting that "another counterculture hero [American Indian Movement activist Russell Means had] stepped down from the barricades." J. D. Reed, "People," *Time*, January 18, 1988, p. 73.

> Though still cynical about U.S. values and institutions, the six are now equally skeptical about changing things through mass protest. As a result, many of them verge on a bitter fatalism about public affairs. Still, none have dropped out into drug abuse, agrarian communes, or similar escapism. Most have not yet settled into clearly defined careers, but in various ways all are working hard for idealistic goals.[102]

What *Time* added—"*so far*, not one is out to make money"—implied this, too, that this, too, would change. (Emphasis added]. The thumbnail sketches of the graduates of 1968 offered, for the most part, pictures of activists turning away from radicalism. Brian Weiss, once "full of antiwar and pro-black views," had become "a kind of rational pessimist." Where once his energies were spent protesting the war, Weiss now "spends 14 hours a day engrossed in becoming a research anthropologist . . . .Making no apologies for his work's lack of popular relevance, he says simply, 'I am doing this because I enjoy it.'" Vernon Ford turned from teaching and sociology to law. "Choosing his words carefully, Ford speaks of American society as 'basically immoral' and sometimes talks of 'revolution'—but he does not know what form it could take or see any individual leading it, much less himself."[103] Indeed, *Time* sized him up, not dismissively, as a "future politician." Undeniably, Ford was sobered by experience:

> As he sees it, "I've just grown older. I realize that I have no monopoly on knowledge. Me, Vernon Ford—I can't change the world. I don't know what this country has in store for me, or for black people. But insofar as a problem is recognized, I'm going to do everything in my power to help solve it. That's the pragmatic approach."[104]

Another law student, Robert Reich, also had discovered "'humility about what individuals can accomplish in a short period of time.'" Some of those who had not done so, Reich said, "had become 'burnt-out cases running on pure energy and not really thinking about what they were doing anymore.'" Reich, who once marched on the Pentagon, now wished to reform society by "'de-legalizing'" it and he planned to join the McGovern presidential campaign.'"[105]

Closest of those interviewed to "the semi-hippie life" was Elizabeth Stevens, a former social activist at Wheaton College, now sharing a house with a male roommate; "she is baking bread and eating organic foods" and working toward a master's degree in teaching. "Frustrated with conventional reformist projects," she ended up in Vermont and became a master's student working in a high school guidance office, where she deals with "one person at one level at a time." The sketch was of a confused activist:

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[102] "Class of '68 Revisited: A Cooler Anger," *Time*, May 17, 1971, p. 55.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., pp. 55-56. Fifteen years later, *Time* looked up Ford again. The one-time "black power militant" had quit his job of providing legal aid to welfare clients in Chicago after three years and had gone into real estate; he was now a "nattily dressed real estate developer [with] a big house and two cars, one of them a BMW." His work now was in helping the black middle-class secure housing. "Keeping a Sense of Commitment," *Time*, May 19, 1986, p. 43.

[105] "Class of '68 Revisited," p. 56.

> "I'm really into a whole day-to-day thing," she muses. "At Wheaton, I really believed that you could change things and make them better. Now I'm just sort of putting my head together." She gives the impression of a person who is not retreating but resting. Like the character in Robert Frost's poem, "The Pasture," Elizabeth Stevens has apparently stopped to watch a stirred-up spring and wait for the water to clear again.[106]

Like Stevens and the other former student radicals,[107] Herbert Kohl was shown in the process of conversion. He looked and sounded, in 1977, "like a throwback to the radical '60s. He is. Back when Berkeley was big and counterculture was a catchword, Socialist Kohl emerged as a militant young spokesman for so-called 'alternative education.'"[108]

Still a firm believer in alternative education, Kohl had become more pragmatic:

> Says he: "We had rhetoric in the beginning, and sometimes we'd go in and stomp all over people who didn't seem to agree with us. Now we are not so loudmouthed and foolish [*Time* agreed with the sentiment enough to use it as the story's.] as we used to be." Today's unconventional educators are also "more concrete." In the old days, the radical alternative movement was so busy fighting traditional educators that it never devised its own basic teaching strategies. Says Kohl

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[106] Ibid. Fifteen years later, the water had cleared. Liz Stevens was now a wife and mother, occupying a "turn-of-the-century house in Providence that Ozzie and Harriet could have lived in." But she was working on a Ph.D. dissertation about a 19th century woman's rights advocate. She retained her commitment to social causes (such as abortion rights, opposition to nuclear fuel, and Planned Parenthood) that could not hardly be described especially radical. "Being a mother has really fueled my feeling that you can change lives for the better. I have to believe that. You have to be an optimist. How could you live otherwise?" See "Keeping a Sense of Commitment," p. 43.

[107] One of the two others was poet David Shapiro, "one-time Columbia [University] rebel. . .who now calls that episode 'mock theater' and gives it only one big plus: he met his future wife during the activity." His goal when interviewed was "'Creating a new poetry, a new cinema, a new voice. . . .'" One of his friends was "Ted Gold, a Columbia radical turned Weatherman who was killed in the explosion of a Greenwich Village 'bomb factory' last year. When Shapiro talks about Gold, he stutters. . . Shapiro adds: 'There is a time when I may be willing to risk my life, but for me now poetry is the way.'" "Class of '68 Revisited," p. 55. Revisited after 15 years, Shapiro was a tenured professor who had published 15 books of poetry and criticism who regretted "the image of arrogant radicalism [that] still dogs him. 'All of my work has shrunk and dwindled because of it,' he frets." "Keeping a Sense of Commitment," p. 43. The other was Brian P. McGuire, who quit a teaching job that "he had taken. . .in a last-ditch attempt to put his idealism to work in the U.S." In 1971, he and his Danish wife moved to Copenhagen, where he "hopes to become a Danish citizen and get a teaching job. 'As a person I am just happy,' he says. 'We Americans suffer from a tendency to hail what is one hundred percent, but nothing is ever one hundred percent, and life is absurd, and that is the way it should be.'" "Class of '68 Revisited," p. 56.

[108] "Not So Loudmouthed and Foolish," *Time*, January 24, 1977, p. 66.

[now] : "I am interested in the specifics of making things work."[109]

Another convert had switched from radical politics to making things work. While better known than some other former student radicals, Paul Soglin, mayor of Madison, Wisconsin, lacked the national stature of figures whom *Time* featured in its political stories. Soglin, at 27, "upset a conservative Republican" to win election as mayor. Soglin's credentials as a University of Wisconsin radical were listed, in full detail: a "hard-core member of the antiwar movement," who, even after his election as alderman in Madison, continued to "take part in student demonstrations" (being twice arrested in the process), and clashing with the establishment over such issues as police brutality and budgets.[110] Later, however, Soglin had become a convert to that most blessed (to *Time*) of political positions: the middle way.

> He has not moved fast or far enough to satisfy his more radical backers, nor has he gone too far for many of the middle-class merchants who formerly controlled the . . .city of 176,000. But he has managed to get both groups talking with each other and, in the process, given the city a year of good, if unconventional government.[111]

It did not hurt that Soglin was being criticized by "his friends on the left. . .[who] suspect that he has gone bourgeois." Indeed, "his newly realistic attitude" struck a responsive chord with the centrist *Time*:

> "When I decided to run, I decided to run to win," he says. "I dropped the luxury of being able to pontificate about desirable societal goals. There are worthwhile things that can be done that are better than chasing after windmills." No one has yet compared Soglin to Don Quixote. Most, in fact, recognize that Soglin is a shrewd politician with a good shot at re-election. . . He has disarmed many of the city's conservatives and picked up a new constituency among the moderates. He feels that he has held onto the support of all but the most disillusioned radicals. Soglin would like another term in which to call out some of his ideas on housing and land-use planning. Beyond that, he says he has higher ambitions. If he wins a second term as mayor of Wisconsin's capital city, he might be in a position to realize them.[112]

Another article reported that the ambitions of some former radicals were being realized because of their conversion into businessmen. But business as well as the radicals themselves secured the benefits. An unnamed radical, featured in the lead paragraph, made the point:

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[109] Ibid.

[110] "A Radical's Greening," *Time*, July 1, 1974, p. 16.

[111] Ibid. Perhaps coincidentally, *Time* published an essay immediately after the story about Soglin. "The middle, it is generally agreed, is the right place to be. To the Greeks, moral wisdom was to be found in the golden mean." Thereafter, the essay deplored apathetic Americans. Thomas Griffith, "The Trouble with Being in the Middle," *Time*, July 1, 1974, pp. 18-19. Soglin's unconventionality was illustrated by the plaque on his office door. It read "HIZZONER DA MARE." Ibid.

[112] Ibid., p. 19.

> Ten years ago, he was at Boston University, battling the Establishment as an activist sympathizer of the Students for a Democratic Society. Today he wears three-piece suits as a senior associate of a Manhattan-based management consulting firm. "The former radicals are an asset to business," he says. "They are aggressive as hell, they're by and large well-educated, they have stamina. Business is a rigorous area in which to channel the same kind of energies we had then. [113]

An exemplar of the '60s kids who challenged authority was Dale Radcliff, now 30 and a controller for Bank of America. "Dropping out of Berkeley in 1966, he traveled the country as a rock musician for three years before returning to Cal for his M.B.A." Radcliff continued to question authority "by asking many more questions than their predecessors did—or do. . . Radcliff,. . .peppers supervisors with questions about why they follow certain procedures when others would be more efficient." Consequently, Radcliff "has developed news ways of speeding paper work, redesigned work schedules around more flexible hours, and begun weekly meetings to share information with his staff."[114]

Time's point was this: the rebellious '60s kids, with their willingness to question authority, had become a corporate (and societal) resource. Judging from its decision to use the "extreme case," rather than the norm, *Time* was particularly eager to make the point. Its focus was on "defiant students who marched behind antiwar banners, experimented with drugs and challenged their parents' values during the shake-'em-up days of the 1960s." Actually, the magazine conceded, while many of those "defiant students" were taking corporate jobs, so were "a lot more of their classmates who never chanted a slogan or smoked a joint." [115]

The most obscure of the converted radicals cited by *Time* were hippies who settled in Telluride, Colorado. Once a roaring (and remote) mining town, Telluride had become, by the late 1960s, a sleepy town of 500 souls. Then the invasion started, as

> political activists and dropouts looking for a Rocky Mountain high started moving in. Native Elvira Wunderlich, 70, remembers the hippies as "just a bunch of trust funders and freeloaders." But the newcomers brought along their political savvy and quickly commandeered the town council from the locals, known as the elks. . . .Says former Mayor Jerry Rosenfeld, 44, a Denver dropout. . . .: "We

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[113] "The '60s Kids as Managers," *Time*, March 6, 1978, p. 62.

[114] Ibid. Another example was a push by senior executives in a computer firm "to make a major investment in South Africa; younger managers protested that it was foolish because that country was headed for grave racial crisis. So the company sent a team of five managers, all in their 30s, to study South Africa for three weeks. They brought back such a bleak report that top management withdrew the investment plan." Ibid.

[115] Ibid. Furthermore, those of whom it wrote were junior executives, for the most part, unlikely to sway their corporations very much for years, as *Time* conceded. Ibid., p. 63.

were going to build a utopia here."[116]

The hippies restored many of the town's Victorian buildings and established "low-growth" zoning codes," and organized summer festivals ranging from one for mushrooms to another for films. The old-line elks who had once run Telluride naturally seethed. By the late 1970s, however, the former hippies had undergone a conversion: they "had turned into the 'ten-year club.' They had roots, even investments." When those investments were threatened by developers planning to put up a village six miles away from Telluride, raising the possible that "all the investment would be sucked out of town," hippies and elks formed an alliance. They sued "early and often, forcing [the developer] into a compromise." The town's residents, including the hippies, caught development fever soon after. A telling observation was made by one of them. "'The pendulum has swung the other way,' says Attorney Bob Korn, 43, who was once busted in Telluride on a marijuana charge. 'We have kids and mortgages now. We're just like our dads were.'"[117]

CONCLUSIONS

The genius of the American system, a *Time* essayist once observed, lies in its "infuriating (to radicals) talent for absorbing and accommodating even those who began by wanting to tear the place down."[118] However correct about the frustrations of rebels of various stripes, *Time* left unsaid something equally important. The absorption and neutralization of radicalism does not happen as a matter of course. It requires, among other things, the contributions of journalistic media, the managers of what Gans called the nation's "symbolic stage."

This paper has examined the contributions to that end of neutralizing radicalism by the leading American news magazine. What *Time* did was to manipulate and to array powerful symbols—converts, defectors, heretics who renounced Communism, racist men and institutions that recanted—in order to demonstrate that the American system was correct, just, and efficacious.

Such stories were not the result of the quirks of an individual. The managing editorship was *Time*'s most powerful editorial position; six men held that position in the period studied, between 1959 and 1992. Nor can the stories be attributed to journalistic standards and procedures. Prominence is one such criterion; it was not lightly discarded by a magazine that spun off *People*, the magazine of celebrity-watching. Yet if *Time* covered famous converts, it covered obscure ones as well—and sometimes at greater length when the latter produced a better ideological result. On occasion, *Time* even risked alienating readers—for example, by reviewing yet another of those anti-Communist memoirs that, as the magazine itself admitted, could be a bore. And there were the spins that *Time* put on stories; an appealing Svetlana Alliluyeva of 1967 became (in all but name) the ruthless, crude Svetlana Stalina after her 1984 redefection.

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[116] J. D. Reed and Robert C. Wurmstedt, "Gentrifying a Mountain Paradise," *Time*, February 11, 1985, p. 98.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Morrow, "Elegy for the New Left," p. 68.

Cold warrior that it was, *Time* devoted much space to defections and conversions that supported its ideological position in the struggle between East and West. Its ideology was not limited, however, to Western Civilization's struggle against the Red Peril. Rather, it was an ideology of the center that engaged in struggles against leftists, represented, for example, by the rebellious students of the 1960s, and those on the extreme right, whether George Wallace or the Black Muslims. While extremists challenged the center, they represented an opportunity as well. Converts welcomed into the fold, prodigals restored symbolically to the company of the righteous, were vivid evidence, a corporeal presence, of the rightness of the magazine's ideology of the center, which *Time* regarded as synonymous with America itself.

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WAS THE MAINSTREAM PRESS A PROMOTER OF THE PROGRESSIVE IDEOLOGY? THE *NEW YORK TIMES* AND THE *NEW YORK WORLD*, 1900-1917

by

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WAS THE MAINSTREAM PRESS A PROMOTER OF THE PROGRESSIVE IDEOLOGY? THE *NEW YORK TIMES* AND THE *NEW YORK WORLD*, 1900-1917

Abstract

This paper examines the premise that the mass media promotes and maintains dominant social ideologies. It is proposed that if such a premise were correct, it would be possible to identify a society's dominant ideologies by examining the content of its principal forms of media. It is also proposed that if a particular ideology were said to be dominant in a particular period, an analyst would be equally able to identify its major themes, issues, and values by examining the media of the period. These hypotheses are examined through an analysis of two examples of the mainstream press -- The *New York Times* and the *New York World* --during the Progressive Era.

The period to be studied was limited to the years between 1900-1917. The front pages of both newspapers were studied in eighteen samples, with one sample selected from each of the eighteen years. Recurring themes related to progressive issues, as well as related concepts or "key terms," were identified; stories were then coded according to the occurrence of these themes.

This analysis found that although the two newspapers addressed widely different audiences, the percentage of stories that treated or used progressive themes in each were remarkably similar. Both newspapers ran far fewer stories on progressive themes than expected and neither seemed to go out of its way to cover the stories it did. In presenting these stories, however, both newspapers used a specific "value-laden" lexicon that signalled attitudes and responses toward progressive themes.

Themes of the progressive era can be clearly identified in the samples studied. These themes, however, appear to have alrelady been an integral part of the language and images of the day; treatment by the *Times* and the *World* does not seem to have played a role in creating them. It would appear from this study, therefore, that while neither the *World* nor the *Times* acted as a promoter of the progressive ideology during this period, they both played a part in maintaining and reinforcing it.

WAS THE MAINSTREAM PRESS A PROMOTER OF THE PROGRESSIVE IDEOLOGY? *THE NEW YORK TIMES* AND THE *NEW YORK WORLD*, 1900-1917

The Press and Social Ideology

Social ideologies -- the ways in which a significant part of a society views the world -- are produced by complex, ongoing processes, with many players taking part consciously as well as unconsciously in their formulation. Individuals such as reformers or promoters, as well as organizations, interest groups, and entire industries may consciously create or manipulate ideologies for well-defined motives. They may also play a part in shaping them through the simple day-to-day function of their everyday activities.

The mass media is one such industry that has been assigned a large responsibility in the shaping of social ideologies. Ever since the introduction of the printing press, in fact, the various manifestations of the media -- books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, and, today, radio and television -- have been assigned the task of educating the people in order to enable them to make informed political, moral, and social choices. "We are here to lead the world and improve it," wrote journalist and newspaper critic Will Irwin in 1911, expressing a sentiment popularly held by many journalists during his time.[1]

Along with this expectation, however, came criticism and charges that the media, specifically the news media, was not fulfilling, or worse, was abusing this role. Charges of bias, untruthfulness, invasion of privacy, and political favoritism abounded through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the mid-nineteenth century, with the introduction of mass-circulation newspapers and the emergence of a new dependency on advertising revenue, "influence" by "special interests," and "suppression" were added to the list of charges. And in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth, "sensationalism" and "yellow journalism" became the battle cries of critics who were appalled by the transformation of the news into tales aimed at arousing the lowest level of human emotion.[2]

During this last period, an underlying theme emerged -- that the media, specifically the daily newspaper, should provide the truth in a fair and unbiased fashion. This ideal was *consciously and explicitly expressed,* both by critics and by journalists. For the most part, the reporters and editors who expressed it believed such a goal could be met, given the right circumstances, through *conscious* choice. And when critics charged that the press failed to meet the goal, they did so in the belief that the failure was a *conscious* one. This belief, however, overlooked the fact that much of what reporters and editors produced was shaped by their own personal world views and value systems, formed by a combination of education and life experience. These views would inform their perception of an event (or non-event), their interpretation of it, and finally, their choice of words, sentences, frames, symbols, and meanings in describing it.[3] Thus, despite all conscious intentions of reporting only the "unbiased truth," reporters and editors very often reproduced, reinforced and maintained those very same ideologies which informed their own personal world view.[4]

While this process was recognized and even expected in the production of literary works, it was condemned in the press. If reporters were, rather than merely reflecting reality, interpreting and reshaping it *without necessarily even realizing it,* how could the existence of an independent, observable, and verifiable universe be affirmed? What was reality? What was important and significant if the "news values" identified by the news profession were not really the driving force behind what was reported and published?[5]

Modern media scholars recognize this basic contradiction in the roles of the press as an almost necessary tension in driving the industry. The "mainstream" media is generally credited with disseminating and maintaining what are loosely termed as the "dominant" ideologies of society, while alternative and marginal media give voice to contesting ideologies, often expressed through social movements, sometimes through revolutions. These contesting ideologies also seek a voice in the mainstream media so as to reach as large a public as possible. When they do force themselves into the public sphere, they are either denied, co-opted, accommodated, or adopted. The first three of these responses may result in a reconfirmation of the dominant ideology; the last would force a substantial redefinition. Thus, what in one period may be "a voice crying in the wilderness," can in the next generation become an integral part of a society's general belief system.[6]

If the mass media is, indeed, one of the principal channels through which ideologies are introduced to societies, diffused through them, and maintained over time, an observer should be able to identify the dominant ideologies of a particular society at any given time by analyzing the content of its principal forms of media. Likewise, if a particular ideology is said to be dominant during a specific period, the analyst should be equally able to identify its major themes, issues, and values within the contemporary mass media. Here, this hypothesis is examined through an analysis of two examples of the mainstream press -- the *New York Times* and the *New York World* -- during the Progressive Era.

The Progressive "Era" and Progressive Ideology

Few historians can agree on what the "Progressive Era" was, or even if, for that matter, it actually existed. What they do agree on, however, is that in the period roughly between 1890 and 1920, there existed a particular "positive" or "optimistic" "spirit" that infused certain outspoken segments of the intellectual, political, and social reform community and spread throughout the general culture and society. Most agree that progressivism was a political response to the effects of industrialization, that it was centered in the country's urban centers, and that its proponents were reformers rather than revolutionaries who hoped to mend, not destroy, the country's existing social and political structure.[7] The progressives "were united in a general viewpoint" that embraced "many or all of a number of beliefs that facilitated change," including optimism, leadership by an enlightened elite, environmentalism, romantic individualism, and cultural nationalism. More importantly, however, they were marked by a specific belief in their own power to change the world. This sense of activism, so clearly expressed in Walter Lippmann's *Drift and Mastery* was a marked change from the passive belief in automatic progress expressed earlier in the century by William Graham Sumner.[8]

This activism, however, was expressed in different and sometimes opposing fashions, with progressive actors sometimes lined up on opposing sides of an issue. While some, for example, supported increased popular political participation through liberalized suffrage, the referendum, and the recall, others called for the increased professionalization of government by the creation of a class of professional managers.[9] Nor has there been agreement on who made up the cadre of progressives nor what motivated them, for while there have been attempts to identify a "common social type" composed mainly of native-born, protestant, middle-class, well-educated WASP types, this description also accurately identifies the conservative activists of the period. But while it may be difficult to identify exactly who might be expected to be found among the progressives, historians as well as people of the time were able to identify some individuals as most definitely in the progressive camp. These included: political leaders like Woodrow Wilson in his early years and Robert LaFollette; reform leaders like Jane Addams; intellectuals like John Dewey and Lippmann; and some journalists, dubbed by Teddy Roosevelt "muckrakers," who chose to write exposes on big business and corrupt government, including Upton Sinclair, Ida Tarbell, Will Irwin, and Lincoln Steffens.

Because so many reform activities can be drawn under the umbrella of progressivism, it is convenient to group some of these related activities as issue clusters. Such a categorization might result in the following seven issue clusters:

1. political reform (anti-corruption, referendum, recall, direct election of senators, professionalization),
2. labor reform (worker safety, disability, limited-hour workday, strikes, unions),
3. children's issues (child labor laws, public schools, children's courts),
4. moral reform (anti-prostitution, anti-gambling, film and book censorship, prohibition),
5. control of big business (anti-trust, pure food and drug legislation),
6. women's rights (equal pay, protective labor legislation, birth control, woman suffrage), and
7. reform for the poor, immigrants (welfare, settlement houses, immigrant quotas).

While this list does not include all the issues or reforms that were at one time or another, in one place or another, pursued by those who can accurately be identified as "progressives," it covers the most prominent issues to recur over and over again during the years between 1890 and 1920.

Method

For the purposes of this study, the years to be considered were limited to the period between 1900 and 1917, those years considered the "core" years of the progressive era. It was decided to examine the front pages of two newspapers, The *New York Times* and The *New York World*: the *Times* because even at the turn of the century, it was viewed as one of the country's "better," "more responsible" newspapers and was aimed at a largely middle-class, educated readership; the *World* because it represented crusade journalism at it best and spoke clearly to the city's working and immigrant classes. The front page was chosen because it was here that editors placed what they viewed as their most newsworthy stories each day, and it was here, in the news columns and not in the editorial page, that lay, according to Irwin, "the real power of the American newspaper."[10]

A sample of four issues of both newspapers was taken from each year; because of time constraints, however, this sample was later reduced to only one issue a year.[11] Each front page was read in an effort to identify subjects, words, terms, or, more difficult to identify, "tone," that might place the story in one of the general categories described above. It was quickly discovered, however, that these categories had to be redefined, for several of them did not match the themes that were actually appearing in the samples. Thus, after reading through the samples once, thirteen recurring themes related to progressive issues were eventually identified. These, along with some of their related concepts or key terms, were, in the order of their most frequent appearance, the following:

1. science and technology (autos, airplanes, submarines, the wireless, inventions, medical discoveries),
2. big business (monopolies, trusts, "interests," lobbies),

3. political reform (machine politics, Tammany, better government, purity in government),
4. labor (strikes, unions, pensions, work conditions),
5. development (of nature, land, natural resources, dams, canals),
6. social reform (suffrage, prohibition, alcohol, saloons, peace),
7. progress (civilization, prosperity, better, more advanced society, opportunity, "Horatio Alger" myths),
8. the poor (slums, tenements, poverty, charity cases),
9. the rich (money, class, beneficence, inheritance),
10. race (ethnic groups, negroes, nativism, "race suicide"),
11. education (school, training, libraries, learning), and
12. social revolution (radical, violent change).

While many stories in the sample fit none of these categories, some fit more than one. In the final analysis, of the 402 stories found on the first pages of the eighteen samples of the *New York Times*, 19 percent were found to cover what here have been defined progressive issues or express progressive themes. In *The World*, sixteen percent of its 241 front-page stories in the eighteen samples were based on progressive issues or couched in progressive terminology. (See Appendix A.)

The New York Times

In 1900, the *Times* was just one of New York's eight morning newspapers scrabbling for a market share among the city's readers and advertisers. Under the ownership of Adolph S. Ochs, the *Times* was slowly climbing out of a slump that had almost left it bankrupt four years before. Even though Ochs bought the *Times* in 1896 when the city's two giant papers, Pulitzer's *World* and Hearst's *Journal*, were totally engaged in "yellow journalism" and a circulation war, he refused to enter the fray. Rather than adopting the popular features of yellow journalism, he pledged instead to "make the columns of the *New York Times* a forum for the consideration of all questions of public importance and to that end to invite intelligent discussion from all shades of opinion."[12] Ochs kept illustrations and color out of his paper, refused stunt stories, and, in 1898, adopted the motto "All the News That's Fit to Print" and slashed his price from three cents to one cent (a penny less than the Hearst and Pulitzer papers). Circulation climbed from a low of 9,000 in 1893 to 100,000 in 1901 and more than 340,000 in 1917.[13]

The *Times* had generally won the admiration of the intellectuals, the middle class, and professionals during its early years under Henry J. Raymond and under the editorship of George Jones from 1869 to 1893. Under Ochs it maintained and built upon that respect; it was frequently referred to by critics as "one of New York's better papers" and "one of the more honest papers." In 1911, in his series for *Collier's* on the American Newspaper, Irwin came as close as he ever came to praising a modern newspaper and its publisher. "The *Times* has fewer towers of silence than most (newspapers);" he wrote, "usually it dares, when the truth blows in that direction, to tell the truth about its sources of income." He went on to pay Ochs a left-handed compliment, saying he was "best, perhaps, among our great practitioners of commercial journalism... His newspaper is not so clever, and it is not always illuminating. But it comes nearest of any newspaper in New York to presenting a truthful daily picture of life in New York and the world at large." Irwin then, however, went on to add the sting to his compliment, faulting Ochs for his failure to "go out of his way, as he might, to expose the filthy corners of a city which piles up considerable dirt now and then." While Ochs opposed special privileges in his editorial pages, Irwin charged, "special privileges might ride rough-shod over New York for all the notice he would take in the news."[14]

This lack of editorial zeal is noticeable throughout the eighteen-year sample. Not once does the *Times* launch a crusade, not once does it challenge the status quo. For the most part, it is sober and stolid, covering a variety of stories, with special emphasis on business and politics. On January 2, 1900, the date of the first sample for this study, the *Times* front page carried 23 stories, with a lead story in the hard-right column on a First Avenue tenement fire in which two children had been killed. The next most prominent story (in the page's second column on the left) reports of a gift by Andrew Carnegie of $300,000 to the Cooper Union for the construction of a day school. The remaining stories include a preponderance of stories on business (eight) and politics (six) and a scattering of stories reporting on celebrities, disasters, crime, and international news. The page is divided into seven columns, with the first column on the left including an index of the day's news with a paragraph on the most important items appearing on each page. All the stories on the page are placed under single-column headlines; they run from top to bottom, with one, the Carnegie story, wrapping up to the top of a second column.

Eighteen years later, the appearance of the paper's front page had changed somewhat, with larger headlines, a three-column headline over a one column-story and a boxed two-column sidebar, and more white space.[15] Now under the editorship of Carr Van Anda, regarded by some as "America's foremost managing editor," the *Times* had grown from fourteen to twenty pages and boasted a circulation of 340,904, which nearly rivaled both the *World* and the *Journal*.[16] The front page of August 2, 1917, the last sample in this study, held just 11 stories, an unusually small number of stories for the *Times*, and most of these (nine) were devoted to the war. The remaining two were about disaster (a heat wave that had killed 124 in New York City) and politics and reform (the passage of Prohibition in the Senate).

From the samples examined, it would appear that from 1900 to 1917, just as it does today, the *Times* devoted a great deal of its space and attention to news concerning business and politics. Some, but not all of these stories touched on progressive concerns. Business stories were often about big business, but only occasionally dealt with progressive issues or used terms such as "combines," "trusts," or "big business," key words that often served as flags for progressive concerns. These stories were often about big businesses buying up smaller businesses and how this would effect the business community. Sometimes, but not often, these stories also addressed how the growth of such combines might effect workers or consumers. One such story, which appeared in June 1911, announced the formation of a $30,000,000 bread trust. After describing the financial and legal details of the incorporation, the story goes on to report the trust's statement that:

> ... in the formation of the company there is no thought of the establishment of a monopoly in the manufacture and sale in bread, and that such a monopoly would be impossible, as in most localities, with few exceptions, only one baking company has been acquired, leaving competition open to hundreds of others. The real purpose of the company is described as being progressive through close buying of materials, general economics, up-to-date methods of manufacturing and extensive advertising... The plants will contain modern and improved machinery and the most rigid inspection so that the products of the ... establishments will rank as absolutely pure and hygienic. It has also been discovered that by raising the standard of quality... without raising the cost, a great object lesson is to be taught, and that the general output of bread everywhere will eventually and naturally be brought up to this improved standard. (Emphasis added.)[17]

The story concludes by informing the reader that seventy percent of the country's bread is made at home by "housewives," and only thirty percent in bakeries, but whether this implies women are holding back progress and enterprise or helping civilization progress by doing their duty as productive housewives, is not stated.

Political stories also appeared frequently, many times representing as much as three-quarters of the stories on the page. The majority of these were about the everyday ongoing business of politics, simply reporting the passage of legislative or congressional bills or recounting who won what office in elections. But a fair number (a total of fourteen in the eighteen front pages examined) did use what might be called progressive terms or key words that might signal progressive issues. The word "Tammany," for example, was used frequently by all the New York papers, usually in a negative tone. While the term referred literally to the members of the city's Democratic party, it had in the years since Boss Tweed come to mean political corruption, "boss politics," and machine politics -- all evils the progressives had vowed to cure. The Tammany theme appears on October 2, 1908, in the *Times'* lead story, "Chanler Gives Connors a Rap." The story begins "Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler delivered today a sort of personal declaration of independence of the political bosses." (Emphasis added.) It tells how Chanler, who was announcing his candidacy for governor, became miffed when he learned that the party leadership had already announced to the press his views on "personal liberty." He reprimanded the party leaders, who were sitting in reserved seats in full view of the crowd, and declared his intention to "see to the strict enforcement of all laws," a statement which apparently was intended as an insult to the bosses, and which apparently had its intended effect, for "The leader of Tammany Hall pursed up his lips tighter than ever and looked blackly at Chanler..." (Emphasis added.)

Of those themes identified above as progressive themes, the one to appear most often (twenty-two stories in the eighteen front pages studied), even more often then the themes of monopolies and machine politics, was science and technology. Most of these stories are in a positive vein, announcing the predicted benefits of the latest invention or discovery, but some -- those reporting on industrial accidents and automobile accidents -- reveal the darker side of science. One of the most positive views of science is offered in the February 2, 1912 story, "Realizing Marconi's Dream," in which the encircling of the globe by the wireless is identified in a second-deck headline as a "factor for peace." On the same page, the wonders of the automobile are heralded in a story about two men who drove their touring car thirty miles up the frozen Hudson River and back on a dare, risking both the bitter cold and the possibility of breaking through the ice.[18]

The darker side of science and technology is presented in a January 15, 1906 story, "Killed or Maimed, 17,700/ Year's Casualties Near Pittsburg (sic.) Exceed Those of Some Big Battles." The story reports statistics gathered by insurance men that show the high number of industrial deaths and accidents: "The statistics for the last year for the iron and steel mills and blast furnaces show, killed or wounded, 9,000; in other mills, shops or factories, 4,000." More numbers are followed by a disclaimer from employers, who state that "most of the accidents occur through the carelessness of employes." No mention here is made of organized labor or the need for safer workplaces; neither workers nor union officials are quoted in the story. Once again in this darker vein, automobiles that were earlier represented as playthings of the rich, quickly, as the century progressed, became death machines. "New Auto Kills a Lawyer," announces a headlines on August 2, 1909; "Hilles's Cousin Killed" reports another on June 15, 1911. On June 2, 1913 under the headline "Countess's Auto Hits a Motorcycle," a full column is devoted to stories about a string of accidents across the city in which autos hit motorcycles, wagons, and each other, in which pedestrians are run down and bicyclists are knocked over, and in which standing men fall off moving trucks and then get run over.

The fourth most frequently mentioned progressive theme in the *Times* was the labor theme. Labor was a burning issue in the first years of the century as waves of immigrants entered New York in search of work at its mills and factories and workers already there fought to earn a living wage in unsafe conditions. Skilled laborers unionized through the AFL, women garment workers rallied to the ILGWU, the IWW attempted to organize unskilled workers in the face of brutal repression, and some workers turned to socialism as a way of ending the evils of capitalism. Progressives for their part sought to improve labor conditions through legislation and focussed on banning child labor, implementing occupational safety standards, limiting the work day for women, and getting a living wage. Strikes and lockouts were frequent, and labor demands often ended in violence, with the mayor or the governor calling out the police or the militia.[19]

Despite this ferment and the anxiety it must have caused among the readers of the *Times*, who, of all the city's inhabitants, might have had the most to lose from labor unrest, the *Times* carried a relatively small number of stories on labor issues. In the eighteen samples, only fifteen stories addressed labor issues, ranking them fourth in frequency among the issues analyzed in this study. These stories, for the most part, told of violent confrontations between police and "rioting mobs," rarely mentioned labor's demands, and hardly ever mentioned negotiations, although a few did report on worker's benefits such as pensions and insurance.[20] The players in the strike stories are "the mayor," and undifferentiated groups of police, militia, and workers. Individual workers are never quoted, and their names are mentioned only if they are arrested or killed in the violence. Strikers are almost always portrayed as violent, irrational mobs that are completely out of control.

Two specific strike stories offer an interesting contrast in the treatment of the players, both by the authorities and the *Times*. The first of these, "Clubwomen Lead Chicago Strike Riot," which appeared on November 2, 1910, begins:

> Mounted police today charged mobs of striking garment workers and made numerous arrests, only to be dumbfounded when met by groups of clubwomen and society leaders, who, when arrested, produced calling cards in lieu of bail bonds. It was a new experience for the police, and it plainly confused them. A score of these women champions of the garment workers were taken into custody, but they were released when their identities became known. One woman was struck by a policeman's club... She was placed in an automobile and taken home. Most of the clubwomen involved in today's demonstrations were garbed as working girls and the police could not distinguish them from strikers until after arrests were made. (Emphasis added.)

What is unusual about the *Times'* treatment of this story is that it actually interviews the women (the clubwomen, not the garment workers), identifies them by name, and quotes them liberally. But then, this was not just an ordinary strike story; it was novel in that prominent members of the community were involved in unexpected behavior. Contrast this instead to an October 2, 1916 story on a New York trolley car strike: "Car Strike Mobs Fight The Police in Westchester/ Mayor of Mount Vernon Leads His Force in Combat With Throngs of Rioters/ Clubs Plied, Bricks Fly/ Yonkers Motor Cycle Men, Like Cavalry, Charge Crowds in a Street Battle." The scenes described in the story are like scenes from a civil war or revolution. "Mobs" of strikers and "sympathizers" "swarmed aboard" trolleys driven by strikebreakers, smashing the windows and chasing the drivers. An entire police force of 200 men responded to one incident, charging the "bitter" crowds repeatedly until the crowd backed off, and "Thousands gathered on the streets to watch the fracas between police and strikers." Here no sympathetic clubwomen are involved, here none of the participants other than the mayor are quoted.

As to the other themes identified earlier as "progressive," these occur frequently enough on the *Times* front page to be noted, but not, perhaps as often as might be expected. The theme of social reform, for example, is rarely addressed, even though this was a period when proponents for temperance, prohibition, and suffrage, to name a few reforms, were crusading statewide as well as nationwide. (One story reported on the status of a suffrage bill in the legislature, one reported the Senate approval of the Prohibition amendment.) Even the theme of "progress" is not explicitly addressed as much as might be expected, although stories certainly make liberal use of the word and concept in situations as opposite as a bread trust declaring that its method is progressive and a clergyman declaring that Roosevelt's rise to the presidency was just another example of civilization ever progressing. Stories on development of land and natural resources also implied progress and a certain amount of faith in its inherent beneficence -- a proposed trans-Westchester canal would bring on an "era of tremendous growth" to the area and establish "a natural home for New Yorkers;" Rockefeller's acquisition of options on all Mexican rubber manufacturing plants would permit the proper development of a resource that was rapidly becoming necessary to American industry and the American way of life. That such themes were implied rather than stated explicitly may indicate that by this time they were such an integral part of the way people -- specifically the editors, reporters, and, perhaps, the readers of the *Times'*-- thought that it was no longer necessary for them to be spelled out.[21]

The New York *World*

In contrast to the *Times,* the New York *World* in 1900 was nearing its peak in terms of circulation, advertising revenue, and influence. Purchased in 1883 by Joseph Pulitzer, who had already established a reputation in the Midwest, the newspaper quickly climbed in circulation after Pulitzer infused it with his own style of personal journalism -- popular crusades, sensationalism, and, in the late 1890s, yellow journalism. Although this five-year lapse into yellow journalism blackened Pulitzer's reputation for many, he was still widely recognized as a community leader and a great crusader. In 1905, for example, the *World* investigated the insurance industry, and eventually uncovered wholesale bribery in the state legislature. Pulitzer was "the first to go out systematically and find evil before evil obtruded itself on public notice," wrote Irwin in 1911, shortly before Pulitzer's death. "(He) made his organ a champion of popular rights... The morning *World* is possibly the freest and most truthful popular paper in New York." After Pulitzer's death, his chief editorial writer, Frank I. Cobb, who had joined the paper in 1904, became the newspaper's editor.[22]

The *World* initially attracted a wide spectrum of readers with its bright, witty, attractive style. As the paper entered the 1890s, Pulitzer began to aim specifically at the city's working class, many of them immigrants who could barely speak English. One way of attracting these readers was through the large, often sensational headlines; another was through the use of illustrations and, in the 1890s, color; another was through the newspaper's many pages of advertising and want ads. The strategy was highly successful, and in 1898 the *World* was claiming on its front page a circulation of 863,956. But after the turn of the century apparently some of this appeal to the masses wore off, perhaps because Pulitzer abandoned the field of yellow journalism and left it to Hearst's *Journal* and the rising tabloids. By the end of the period studied here, the newspaper's circulation had gone down considerably to a daily circulation of just 379,905 and a Sunday circulation of 519,269.[23]

Because of its use of large headlines and visuals, the *World* tended to present fewer front-page stories than the *Times*. On January 2, 1900, for example, the front page carried only fourteen stories (compared to the *Times'* twenty-three). The lead story, "Story of the Maher-McCoy Fight Told For the World by McCoy," started out in the upper right-hand columns with a three-column headline over a sketch of the winner, Charles "Kid" McCoy. The first column left story reports Carnegie's $300,000 gift to Cooper Union, which had also been carried in the *Times*, and the rest of the page has a mix of international, crime, disaster, and human interest stories. There are no political stories on the page, nor are there stories on business, a tendency that was fairly consistent in the eighteen samples. When they did appear, however, the "human-interest" element was played up; individuals were named, people were interviewed and quoted, anecdotes were told, and stories were generally "personalized."[24]

By 1917, the *World* had toned down its front page appearance somewhat, and on August 2, it eliminated illustrations altogether to cram the page with print. Of the eleven stories, seven were on the war, one on the deadly heat wave (also reported in the *Times*), one reported the Senate's passage of the Prohibition bill, and one was on business. This last story, "Electric Fan Famine New Hot Spell Evil," which reported one man's attempts to locate an electric fan during the heat wave, was an ironic twist on the shortcomings of technological progress. As so many other *World* stories succeeded in doing, it took a general event that affected many, the heat wave, and described the experience of one individual. True to the paper's populist spirit, the story also celebrated the individual's native ingenuity and ability to take control of his life. After telephoning every electrical supply company in the telephone book, the story's hero succeeds in finding a store with a fan, goes to it, and carries it away triumphantly on his shoulder.

While it might be expected that the *World* would have addressed progressive themes, or at least themes concerning social or labor issues, more often than the more conservative *Times*, this was not the case. In fact, this study found that the *World* devoted approximately the same percent of first-page stories to progressive themes as did the *Times*.[25] In addition, these themes, as well as their key concepts, followed nearly the same order of frequency as the stories appearing in the *Times*. Thus, of the four themes appearing most frequently in the *World*, the top two were science and technology and big business; next came themes of political reform; fourth came labor. (See Appendix A.)

For the *World* reader, science was something that could affect lives directly, thus several of the stories in this category dealt with medical breakthroughs and hospitals, both of which were presented as progressive developments. A blind woman treated by a specialist sees her six children for the first time in years; a cure is found for locomotor ataxia. Hospitals are portrayed as necessary for the public good, and in 1905 an alarm is raised by the mismanagement of a private maternity hospital. Although the hospital was built and largely supported by private funds, its revolting physicians point out that the hospital is actually a public charity and should be investigated and reorganized by the state.[26] Six years later, a judge speaking to the graduating nurses of Troy Hospital, recognized the need for hospitals, especially maternity hospitals, adding his own bit of social commentary, revealing, perhaps, a bit of sexist bias:

> Hospitals... are as necessary for public health as parks. The lying-in ward should no more be the birthplace of the millionaire's scion than of the plebian (sic.) offspring. The whim of the rich woman is no more entitled to recognition at hospitals than the caprice of the housewife. (Emphasis added.) [27]

Big business was covered relatively often, with nine stories appearing in the eighteen samples studied. The *World* often viewed business, especially big business, with suspicion, and in 1905 launched an investigation against Equitable Life which then spread to the other giants in the insurance industry as well as the state legislature. On March 15, 1905, its lead story announced what must have been viewed by the *World* editors as a great democratic victory: "Hyde Gives Up Control of Equitable Life/ Agrees That Policy holders Shall Elect a Majority to the Board of Directors/ They to Elect Twenty-eight and the Stockholder's but Twenty-four." (Emphasis added.) In the same issue, another story reported the creation of a new trust: "Lobster Trust Formed, With Armours Back Of It, 'Tis Said/ Mysterious Agent Has Signed Principal Wholesalers from Boston to Portland Into Combine to Squeeze The Epicures -- 'Poor Man, Doesn't Have lobsters; He Won't Suffer.'" Here the name "Armours" can be considered a key word, and would serve as an alarum to the public, for just at this time muckraker Upton Sinclair was publishing his exposes on the working conditions and unsanitary practices in the Chicago meat industry dominated by the Armour family. Once again, the *World* brings the issue down to the reader's level, quoting the agent's claim that as consumers the poor may not suffer from the trust (because they are deprived to begin with). The story then contradicts this, pointing out the trust's possible effects on the working man: "The lobster fishermen are the ones most likely to suffer if the trust puts its own steamers and sets its own traps."

Politics, political reform, and machine politics were addressed in eight stories, just 3.3 percent of the total number of stories in the sample (compared to 5 percent in the *Times*). One of these, on the Chanler story described above, uses the same key phrases used by the *Times* -- "Tammany boss," Democratic bosses" -- but it adds a class dimension when it describes the lush surroundings of Chanler's home and the contrast between the aristocrats and the bosses:

> It was the unexpected foreword of the speech delivered by Lewis Stuyvesant Chandler at Rokeby, the ancestral home of the Chandlers... that added an unusual and sensational feature to the function... To the greater portion of the 1,000 representatives... gathered on the sere, brown, wind-swept sward under the giant elms, the indignation manifest in the voice of Mr. Chandler and the visible discomfiture of the Democratic bosses created at once a sensation and a diversion. Standing upon the broad granite porch of the Chanler mansion, hedged in by bosses of the first, second, and third rank on the one hand and by the representatives of the Astor and other aristocratic families on the other, the Democratic candidate for Governor delivered this broadside directly to Chairman Conners... (Emphasis added.)[28]

Sometimes the *World's* penchant for reporting conspiracy conflicted with what might otherwise have been pro-reform stories. In "Sees Plot to Give $500,000,000 to Sprinkler Trust" (15 June 1911), for example, the story reports allegations that the city's fire chief, who had added a requirement for sprinkler systems to the building code, was really in collusion with some of the companies that made the sprinklers. The story quotes the lawyer handling the case and refers to an appeal brought by two piano manufacturers. It uses several of the key terms associated with political corruption by big business -- "in league with the companies," "collusion," a "plan on foot to make it compulsory" -- but nowhere does it address the larger issue of industrial safety and how this regulation would benefit factory workers. This story is about the conflict between big business (the sprinkler trust) and small businesses (the piano companies); it is not about the conflict between business and workers.

Labor issues, in fact, were identified in only six stories in the eighteen samples, and most of them pit the workers against big business or the authorities in dramatic, even epic, terms. In its October 2, 1916 story about the New York trolley car strike (described above), for example, the *World* estimates the crowd at 1,000 in two of the confrontations and 30,000 in another. While the crowd is riotous and in "wild disorder" (but organized enough to throw up barricades), the police are "in force" and in some degree of command. Violence is again featured in the same day's lead story on a region-wide milk strike. The headline points out immediately the quandary this strike presents to the public: "Thousands Must Go Without Their Milk This Morning/ 'Big Three' Distributors Admit the Supply for the City Will Be From 60 to 75 Percent Below Normal -- Hospitals And Sick To Be Cared For." The story immediately brings in the farmers who are striking against the distributors and the "thousands of New York families" that would be without milk if the strike were prolonged. Implications of big business corruption are made in a statement by a health commissioner making an appeal "for action to break up the combination" which he says violates "conspiracy laws."[29]

A final story on labor issues is worth mentioning in that it presents such a provocative portrait of millionaire J.P. Morgan. In the ideal world described in Lippmann's *Drift and Mastery*, where the future should be entrusted to "professionals," Morgan surely would have been the ultimate hero. In this story, however, he becomes a caricature, for though he may be the ultimate "scientific" businessman, he appears to know very little about anything else. What is really interesting about this story is how the *World* describes Morgan. Although he seems to be no friend to the working man, he is described sympathetically, in terms almost of admiration:

> MORGAN CONFESSES IGNORANCE OF THE CONDITIONS OF LABOR
> Master in Millions and Director in Vast Empires Tells United States Industrial Commission All Questions of Wages, Hours and Such Matters are Left to Executives -- Has no Time for Social Problems, No Opinion as to Child Labor, Working Days or Income of Laborers -- Thinks $10 a Week Enough for Longshoremen if It Is All They Can Get and Take It -- John Mitchell Heard.
>
> ----------
>
> John Pierpont Morgan, director of industrial and transportation companies whose stock and bond indebtedness falls just short of two and one-half billion dollars, and the geographical scope of whose operations extends from the eastern shores of Europe to the western shores of the United States, testified yesterday before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations. Under the examination of Chairman Walsh, Mr. Morgan subscribed to the doctrine that a director's responsibility is purely financial...
>
> Big and very well-groomed, looking more than ever like his father, save for a friendly kindling of the eyes that did not mark the elder Morgan, quick to laugh... Mr. Morgan was questioned... Sometimes he sat with his knees well apart, his hands resting on them; sometimes with his legs stretched far beneath the little witness table. Always he watched his questioner with unshifting gaze. (Emphasis added.)[30]

Here, once again, the *World* was perhaps caught between its philosophical sympathy with the workers and its fascination with telling a good story. Morgan might have been a millionaire who didn't know or care much about his workers or their conditions, but he was a charming one and he held a definite fascination for people who might still believe in the American dream.

Conclusion

This study began with the hypothesis that social ideologies are shaped, defined, diffused, and maintained by the mass media. It was then hypothesized that the newspaper, which was the most significant source of information at the turn of the century, served as a promoter for what here has been described as the Progressive ideology. The contents of the front page of *The York Times* and the *New York World* were examined and compared in an effort to locate progressive themes or key terms that might be related to those themes. These papers were chosen specifically because their readerships represented opposite poles of the New

York public: the *Times* addressed the city's elite -- the wealthier, educated middle-class, the business barons, and the aristocrats; the *World* aimed primarily at the urban immigrants and working class.

If the newspapers acted in the roles of promoters, it was believed they would *explicitly* promote progressive themes by intentionally reporting on specific issues, by launching investigations and crusades to clean up politics, for example, or to provide better housing for the poor, or establish public schools in the slums. If, instead, they acted more in the role of maintaining an already established ideology, it was expected that they would simply use a well-established and recognized system of words, signs and symbols. The themes of progressivism would instead become *implicit* in their presentation of the news.

Only eighteen sample front pages were studied in the period, but they provided a good mix of stories and story types over the period between 1900 and 1917. Typically, each *Times* sample included several stories on business and politics; the *World* samples, instead, included more "human interest" stories. While both papers ran far fewer stories on progressive themes than expected, they were strikingly similar in the percentage of stories that touched progressive themes or used key progressive terms. It was observed that while both newspapers ran stories about political corruption, monopolies taking over smaller companies, workers striking, and the development of science and technology, neither seemed to go out of its way to cover these stories. This was especially surprising in the case of the *World*, which had a reputation for being a crusading newspaper.

In presenting these stories, however, both newspapers used a specific lexicon that carried more value than the simple "dictionary" meaning of the individual word. As has been noted above, the simple use of the word "Tammany," for example, called up a myriad of negative connotations signalling political corruption, the rule of the many by the few, autocracy, and "non-democracy," to name a few. The word "trust," conjured up negative connotations of big business consuming small business, of capitalism running rampant over the consumers' interests, of the destruction of individualism, and the end of America as a land of opportunity for all. Mingled throughout a number of stories was the concept that civilization was "ever progressing" toward something bigger and better than what existed then.

It would appear from these samples, then, that while neither the *World* nor the *Times* seemed to be acting as a promoter of the progressive ideology, they both played their part in maintaining it. Perhaps this study should have gone back further in time, from the 1880s to 1900, for example, to discover when these themes and terms first began to appear and to observe if the newspapers acted any differently then in reporting these issues. Perhaps by 1900, the major themes of progressivism had already been learned by the public; perhaps they were already so much a part of the average American's way of thinking, that there was no need to teach them. Perhaps by this time it was enough to repeat the key terms over and over, to tease out the themes in the hundreds of stories that were happening every day and in the handful that made it onto the front page. "A newspaper may educate its public up or down," Will Irwin wrote in 1911. "By the very power of constant iteration, it may implant one or a number of fixed ideas." So too, once an idea is firmly implanted, can a newspaper keep it there by constant *reiteration,* by the repetition of the same messages and key terms over and over.[31]

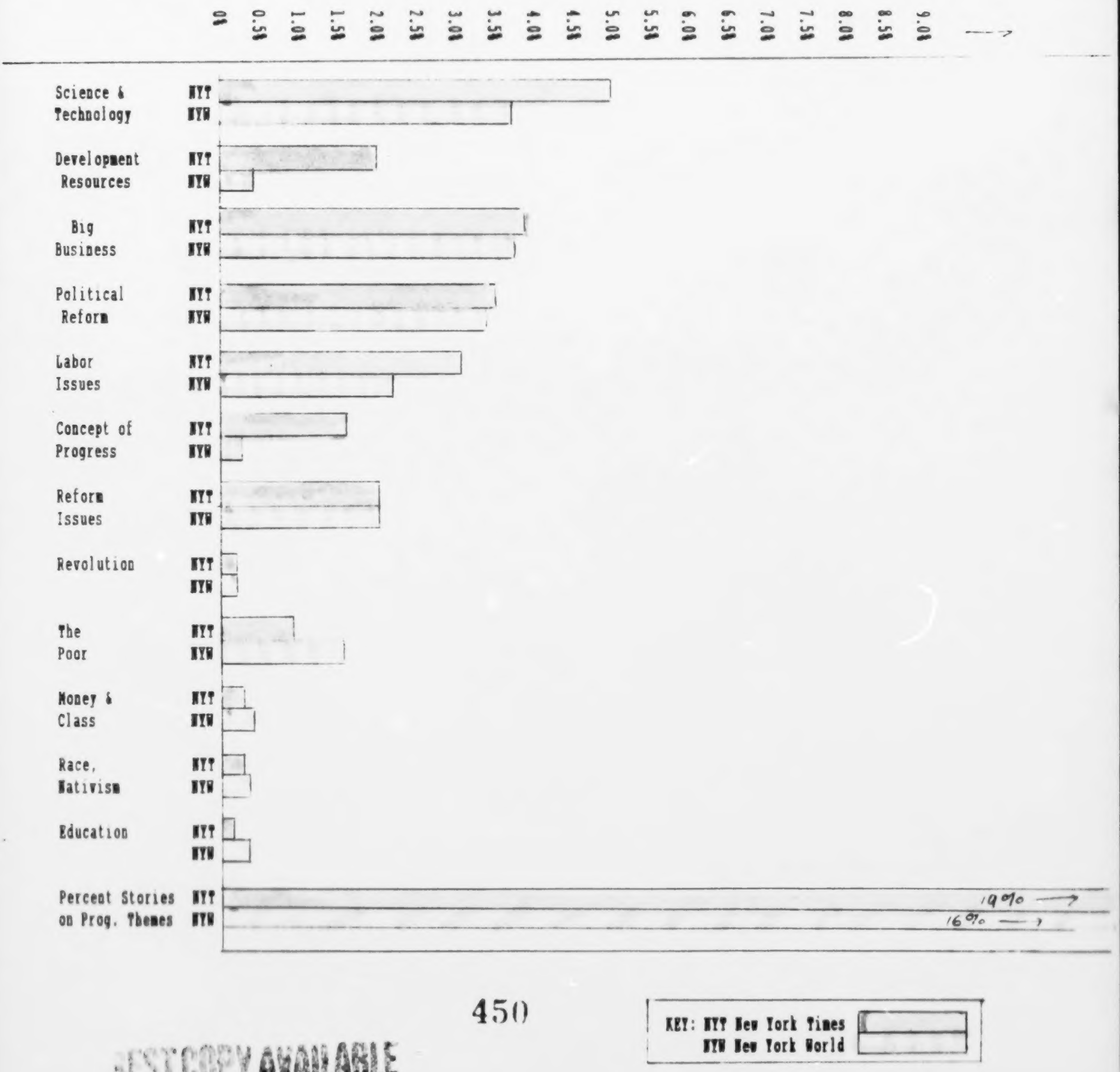
Finally, it might even be said that by the beginning of the century the theme of progress and the newspaper's connection to it was so embedded in the American way of thinking that people had somehow begun to equate the newspaper and progress, to see them as inevitably linked. In 1912, when *Collier's* called on public men to tell them what they thought of the press, that is exactly what one senator responded:

> I think the press is a very great power for good... The world is better than it has ever been before. And I think we have the press to thank for that... I believe that Government ought in no way to limit freedom of the press... Why hamper the press on which, beyond all else, our progress depends?[32]

It was exactly this belief in progress, hopeful and ebullient in the first years of the century, strained and almost desperate by the end of the second decade, that most characterized the progressive era. And it was typical of Americans' expectations of the press that they would somehow expect it to sustain and carry forward this belief.

APPENDIX A:

The *New York Times* and the *New York World*, 1900-1917
Percent of Front-page Stories Treating Progressive Themes
(In Eighteen Samples, One From Each Year)



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NOTES

1.Will Irwin, "The Editor and the News," part four of the series "The American Newspaper," *Collier's*, 1 April 1911, 18.

2.Charles M. Sheldon, "Daily Papers and the Truth," *Outlook*, 12 May 1900, 117-118; H.J. Haskell, "The Public: The Newspaper's Problem," *Outlook*, 3 April 1909, 792-795; A.E. Fletcher, "The Ideal newspaper," *Independent*, 29 March 1900, 771-773; Truman A. DeWeese, "From Journalism to the Newspaper Industry," *Independent* 11 December 1902, 2954-7; "Is the Press Deteriorating?" *Harper's Weekly*, 19 July 1902, 945-6; A.A. Tenney, "National Press Clinic," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 August 1912, 22-3; Edward Alsworth Ross, "Suppression of Important News," *Atlantic*, March 1912, 303-11; "Silencing the Press," *Nation*, 1 January 1903, 4; Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper, *Collier's*, 21 January 1911- 29 July 1911; Charles W. Eliot, "What Public Men Think of the Newspapers," *Collier's*, 23 March 1912, 17, 36, 38. For a comprehensive history of the press and press issues, see Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1988). For an analysis of the concept of truth and freedom of the press in colonial America and the early Republic, see Jeffrey A. Smith, *Printers and Press Freedom: The Ideology of Early American Journalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). For a discussion of the news and objectivity, especially after the rise of the penny press in the mid-1800s, see Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

3.Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of Ideology: The Return of the Repressed in Media Studies" in M. Gurevitch et al. (eds), *Culture, Society and the Media* (London: Methuen, 1982) 56-90. Here Hall states that ideology is a function of the discourse rather than the intention of an agent (88).

4.Robert A. Hackett, "Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 1 (September 1984): 229-259.

5.Haskell, "The Public, The Newspaper's Problem;" Fletcher, "The Ideal Newspaper."

6.Pamela Shoemaker, "Media treatment of Deviant Groups," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61 (1984): 66-75; Jo Freeman, "A Model for Analyzing the Strategic Options of Social Movement Organizations," in Jo Freeman (ed), *Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies*, (New York: Longman, 1984) 193-210; Lauren Kessler, "The Ideas of Woman Suffrage in the Portland *Oregonian*," *Journalism Quarterly*, 57 (1980): 597-605.

7.Paul Boyer, "The Progressive Era," in *The Enduring Vision* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath and Company, 1990): 760.

8.John C. Burnham, "Essay," in John D. Buenker, John C. Burnham, and Robert M. Crunden, *Progressivism* (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc., 1980) 9.

9.John D. Buenker, "Essay" in Buenker, Burnham and Crunden, 34.

10.Schudson, 117; Will Irwin, *The Making of a Reporter* (New York: G.P. Putnams Sons, 1942) 165.

11.The dates of the final sample for both the *World* and the *Times* were: 2 January 1900; 2 April 1901; 15 September 1902; 15 February 1903; 15 May 1904; 15 March 1905; 15 January 1906; 15 April 1907; 2 October 1908; 2 August, 1909; 2 November 1910; 15 June 1911; 2 February 1912; 2 June, 1913; 2 April 1914; 2 October 1916; and 2 August 1917.

12.Emery, 273-5; The *New York Times* (hereafter *NYT*) 19 August 1896. Ochs was himself a shining example of the progressive era ethos, a sort of "Horatio Alger" hero in the flesh. The son of German-Jewish immigrants, he had worked his way up from printer's devil to editor and owner of a Tennessee newspaper before purchasing the *Times* in 1896.

13.Emery, 273-4; Schudson, 106-114; *N.W. Ayer & Sons American Newspaper and Annual Directory, 1917* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Sons, 1917, 673.

14.Irwin, "The American Newspaper: The Editor and the News," *Collier's*, 1 April 1911, 18, 19.

15.Although the *Times* did begin to use art on the front page in exceptional circumstances, such as in the case of the sinking of the Titanic on 12 April 1912, none appeared in any of the eighteen samples of this study. In the sample, the first time the layout deviates from its religious use of single-column items to a multiple-column item is in the 2 April 1914 edition. Here, the *Times* took the unusual step of inserting a two-column box at the top of the page to announce its latest circulation figures. (It claimed an increase of 17,584 over the last year's circulation of 228,534.)

16.Emery, 275, Ayer & Sons, 673-4.

17."Bread Trust Starts; $30,000 Capital," *NYT*, 15 June 1911.

18."Cross Hudson on Auto," *NYT* 2 February 1912.

19.Boyer, 757-60.

20.None of the stories, with the exception of the story reporting on industrial accidents mentioned above, dealt with worker's conditions, and that did not even mention the concept of compensation or insurance, although the report originated with an insurance company. Two stories reported on decisions by management to extend some benefits to their workers: "Helps Employes to Insure," *NYT*, 2 January 1900; "Pennsylvania Road Pensions," *NYT*, 2 January 1900.

21."Suffrage Bill Vote Soon," *NYT* 15 June 1911; "Prohibition Wins Victory in Senate; Vote is 65 to 20," *NYT* 2 August 1917; "Bread Trust Starts $30,000 Capital," *NYT* 15 June 1911; "Clergyman Angers President Roosevelt," *NYT* 15 September 1902; "Sound-Hudson Canal," *NYT*, 15 January 1906; "A Rubber Trust in Mexico," *NYT*, 15 January 1906.

22.Emery, 203-212, 251; Will Irwin, "The Fourth Current," *Collier's*, 8 February 1911, 14. As were so many other publishers of his time, Pulitzer was a self-made man who, like Ochs, fit the mold of an Horatio Alger hero. An Hungarian Jew, he emigrated to the United States as a Civil War Union Army conscript. He worked as a manual laborer, a reporter, studied law, served in the Missouri legislature, and became publisher of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* in 1878.

23.Emery, 205-211; N.W.Ayer & Sons, 674. For much of this period, circulation figures were not monitored by any official agency and newspapers could pretty well make up their own. The tendency was to inflate these figures, as high circulation enabled newspapers to attract more advertisers and charge higher line fees. Several agencies were set up by combines of advertising companies in an attempt to regularize reported circulation figures, but it was not until 1913 that federal legislation required newspapers to submit sworn statements of circulation in order to qualify for reduced postal rates. N. W. Ayers and Sons Publishing Company was one of several companies that published an annual directory of newspapers, but it would not accept figures that could not be "verified." After 1913, Ayers used the post office statements for verification.

24.This propensity for quoting people, however, often led reporters to make up quotes when they couldn't interview sources or twist what people said to suit their own purposes. Upton Sinclair in the *Brass Check* complains of this bitterly, although he indicts most of the New York papers equally. (Upton Sinclair, *The Brass Check*, Pasadena California: Published by the Author, 1919).

25.The *World* addressed progressive themes in sixteen percent of the sample stories; the *Times* in nineteen percent.

26."Blind For Six Years, Sees Family Again," the *New York World* (hereafter *NYW*) 15 September 1902; "Locomotor Ataxia Now Can Be Cured, Doctor Declares," *NYW* 2 October 1908; "May Ask Jerome to Investigate Hospital Row," *NYW* 15 March 1905.

27."High Heel Shoes Bad as Rum or Opium, Says Judge," *NYW* 15 June 1911.

28."Chanler Raps Connors; Trust Betrayed He Says," *NYW, 2 October 1908.*

29."Strikers Riot in Yonkers; Attack 3 Surface Cars," *NYW* 2 October 1916; "Thousands Must Go Without Their Milk This Morning," *NYW* 2 October 1916.

30."Morgan Confesses Ignorance of The Conditions of Labor," *NYW*, 2 February 1915.

31.Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper: The Power of the Press," *Collier's*, 4 February 1911, 18.

32.U.S. Senator Robert L. Taylor, Tenn., "What Public Men think of the Newspapers," *Collier's*, 23 March 1912.

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